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VOLUME 87 WINTER 1992

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CONTENTS

Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840–1845 . . . 375
by *Jonathan Zimmerman*

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany 399
"We shall be accountable to God": Some Inquiries into the Position of Blacks in Somerset Parish, Maryland, 1692–1865, by Mary O. Klein
Piscataway Tavern: A Maryland Legacy, by John H. Clagett IV
Provisions for the Federal Hill Feast, by Betty Bandel
The Story of Lee's Spurs
Everyday Life at Fort Washington, Maryland, 1861–1872, by David L. Salay
The L. W. Gunby Company of Salisbury, by Tom McLaughlin
Devices and Desires: Realizing Wider Understanding and Access to Maryland's Recorded Heritage, by Timothy Pyatt, Dean Yates, and Stephanie Thorson
Parceling Out Land in the Vicinity of Baltimore: 1632–1796, Part 1, by Garrett Power

Book Reviews 467
Russo, ed., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage*, by Johanna Miller Lewis
Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study*, by Jack Stenger
Conley and Kaminski, eds., *The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of American Liberties*, by J. C. A. Stagg
Mapp, *Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim*, by Robert L. Weinberg
Cisco, *States Rights Gist: A South Carolina General of the Civil War*, by Arthur Gutman
Nickell, *Ambrose Bierce Is Missing: And Other Historical Mysteries*, by David Grimsted

Books Received 476

Letters to the Editor 479

Notices 482

Maryland Picture Puzzle 484

Index to Volume 87 485

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Editor's Corner: This issue offers a good example of the different research sources that Marylanders—professional and non-professional—have been using of late to explore the state's social, religious, military, architectural, and economic history. We also begin a series on the most important holdings of the Maryland State Archives. Special thanks to the managing editor, Christine Bateman, for compiling this year's annual index.

Cover design: The Washingtonians claimed that their society began in a Baltimore tavern, where six revelers renounced drink and resolved to recruit other tipplers to teetotalism. From Daniel Dorchester, *The Liquor Problem in All Ages* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1884).

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SIGNING THE PLEDGE.

No matter how degraded, any drinker could be redeemed by "signing the pledge." Women played an important role in recruiting such tipplers to the Washingtonian fold. From J. E. Stebbins, *Fifty Years History of the Temperance Cause* (Hartford: L. Stebbins, 1874).

Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840–1845

JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN

"Away the bowl! away the bowl!" cried a popular 1854 temperance song.[1] At the time, more men and women flocked to the temperance movement than to any other reform effort, antislavery included. Students of the age traditionally have dismissed temperance as the "status-anxious" squeal of declining elites, or the righteous wrath of rural folk who feared the vices of cities, industry, and capitalism. Recent research has almost completely reversed this formula, finding that temperance leaders tended rather to look forward than backward. In urban as well as rural cauldrons, temperance bubbled under the watchful tutelage of merchants, bankers, and other upwardly mobile Americans.[2] The same arriviste elites dominated the era's other "moral crusades," distinctively blending evangelical fervor and economic optimism.[3]

The Washington Temperance Society offers a brief sidelight to this story. The six artisans who in 1840 forged the society in a Baltimore tavern lacked the pedigree of the patricians who typically stoked the city's temperance fires. Renouncing the tavern and its temptations, the group's founders further underscored their distance from the ostensibly chaste and unblemished temperance regulars by proclaiming themselves "reformed drunkards" and inviting other inebriates to join them. More than half a million people across the country allied with the Washingtonians during the next three years, at least five thousand Baltimoreans among them.[4] Yet by 1850, a mere decade after its inception, the society had vanished from the American temperance stage. It declined even more rapidly in its Baltimore birthplace, where the Washingtonians disappeared beneath an avalanche of abuse from their rich rivals. Ultimately, however, their demise stemmed from their inability to develop a binding therapeutic ideology. The flash and fizzle of the Washingtonians thereby illuminates nineteenth-century notions of drink and disease, the convergence of these ideas around the modern concept of alcoholism, and the endurance of current groups that have adopted and transformed it.

The author, a doctoral candidate in history at Johns Hopkins, teaches at West Chester University.

The Washingtonians emerged during an era of frenzied social and economic upheaval in Baltimore, the nation's fourth-largest city in 1840. The newly completed railroad generated what Gary Browne has termed a "commercial revolution" during the previous decade, as dozens of large- scale industrial enterprises arose alongside the city's traditional small manufacturers and swelled its population—especially of German-born residents, who comprised one-fifth of Baltimore's inhabitants. A depression near the end of the 1830s curbed this explosive growth but widened divisions in the city's social structure and geography, spawning strikes, riots (for which Baltimore had earned the nickname "Mobtown"), and an exodus of the richest residents from the downtown district. Meanwhile, the Washingtonians' wealthy precursor, the Baltimore Temperance Society, established in 1830, worried that "the sober, the frugal and the industrious" would "hold their property by a very precarious tenure" unless the "labouring classes" could be saved from "the all-corrupting influence of intemperance."[5]

No local temperance society sought directly to enlist these laboring classes until early April 1840, when six drinkers at Chase's Tavern started to discuss the formation of a temperance society for "all classes of the community, without distinction." The two contemporary accounts of the founding of the society differ in several key details, including whether four of the "Original Six"—a tailor, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a coachmaker, and a silversmith—had attended a minister's temperance lecture on the evening they conceived their organization. But the accounts agree that three days after their first discussion, the six artisans reconvened and formed a society, naming it after George Washington, even though the nation's first president had been a well-known tippler. They also signed a pledge—written by William K. Mitchell, president of the society—to abstain from all alcoholic beverages.[6]

The new group held its first public meeting in November, claiming three hundred adherents—mostly (if not entirely, as the Baltimore *Sun* reported) "mechanics and laboring men." Membership topped seven hundred by the end of 1840, soaring to two thousand five hundred by late 1841 and five thousand in 1842. Meanwhile, the Washingtonians had sparked a dramatic explosion of new temperance societies: in 1841 alone, over twenty non-Washingtonian organizations burst forth in Baltimore alongside the Washington Temperance Society, the Junior Washingtons, and four Washington auxiliary groups. Counting several previously moribund societies that revived during this flurry of reform activity, more than thirty different temperance organizations were operating in Baltimore—a city of barely one hundred thousand people.[7]

Directories and tax records confirm the vast socioeconomic distance separating the Washingtonians from their two largest predecessors, the Baltimore Temperance Society (BTS) and Maryland State Temperance Society (MSTS). Yet these records also reveal a striking similarity between the memberships of the Washingtonian and new non-Washingtonian organizations, which attracted artisans of comparable means. The difference lay in the leadership of the societies. Whereas the Washingtonian "Original Six" mirrored their rank-and-file in occupation and

only slightly exceeded the society average in wealth, the leaders of the new organizations fell squarely within the upper classes by both measures.[8] More importantly, the societies diverged sharply in their views regarding drunkards, drunkenness, and prohibition.

Like their forebears in the national temperance movement, the BTS and MSTS at first displayed little concern with "the votaries of the bottle," whom they regarded as beyond worldly (or even posthumous) redemption. "Keep the temperate people temperate," wrote Justin Edwards, secretary of the American Temperance Society and a BTS agent, "the drunkards will soon die, and the land be free." When cholera swept through the city in 1832, the MSTS took note of the number of tipplers among the dead and concluded that God Himself had authorized their demise. "The intemperate . . . were the signalized victims of cholera for its banquet of horror," a spokesman declared, urging listeners "to regard the scourge as the monition of Heaven itself to exterminate a nuisance so profane and ruinous." Later in the decade the MSTS-sponsored *Maryland Temperance Herald* sought to moderate this wrathful image, declaring that the drunkard had been "nailed . . . to the track" by the "whole framework of society." Still, the *Herald* insisted, "the man is guilty, and guilty of a most suicidal act for time and eternity"—guilty, that is, even though his environment was responsible for his condition.[9]

The Washingtonians, by contrast, forgave him. Foreshadowing its modern descendant, Alcoholics Anonymous, the new society reversed the mainstream formula by denying the drunkard's guilt while nonetheless asserting his responsibility for his fate.[10] Most of all, the Washingtonians maintained—and demonstrated—that the formerly doomed "poor inebriate" could be reclaimed. At "experience meetings" across the city, drunkards related their bouts with the bottle and declared a new independence from "King Alcohol," no doubt luring scores of non-alcoholic gawkers as well as hardened tipplers to sign the pledge. Whether or not drunkards actually composed two-thirds of the new members, as the society claimed, they were prominent enough that newspapers regularly referred to the Washingtonians as the "Baltimore Reformed Drunkards" and their style of experience sharing as the "Baltimore Principle." Skepticism, shock, and then amazement characterized these initial reports. "For the first two or three months," the *Sun* recalled, "doubts and fears for the success of this association existed. No one would believe that . . . habitual drunkards could possibly be reformed. There were two [sic] many instances of temporary reformation, to leave even the shadow of a hope. But now the most skeptical have ceased to doubt. A new wonder has appeared. There is hope for the drunkard!"[11]

"Hope for the drunkard" and, most reports added, for his wife. The usual "experience speech" followed the same plot as the popular melodramas of the antebellum theater, with alcohol as the villain, the drunkard as the temporarily disabled hero, and his wife as the wronged heroine. In the end, of course, the hero cast out "demon rum" and was united by the hearth with his relieved and overjoyed spouse. In fact, however, women performed a far more active role in the reclamation of alcoholics than this archetype would indicate. Unlike the BTS and MSTS,

the Baltimore Washingtonians and their new local counterparts accepted only men as members, appealing to artisanal "manliness" at a time when patriarchal prerogative appeared increasingly under assault. Baltimore women formed their own temperance societies in 1841 and 1842. At meetings of these six new societies, women collected clothing and other provisions for drunkards, elected their own officers, and made their own speeches. Whereas the first function reinforced females' domesticity within the era's "cult of true womanhood," the latter two clearly did not. The mere fact that women spoke publicly at all constituted a dramatic addendum to their traditional role: in earlier temperance societies, they were "seen and not heard."[12] Their formation of separate, female-controlled societies represented an even greater expansion of this role.

The presence of both Washingtonian and elite-sponsored female auxiliaries in Baltimore, however, suggests that this expansion cannot be attributed to Washingtonian women alone. Indeed, the city's first women's temperance society began as an adjunct to the MSTS-affiliated Marion Society, drawing more than one hundred members and unprecedented scores of other female onlookers to its second meeting. "Five hundred ladies together, without a sprinkle of the gentleman sex, furnished a sight entirely new," an astounded *Sun* reported. The following week it published an advertisement for a "Ladies Temperance Society," which would "cooperate with the Washington Temperance Society in their laudable enterprise." Of the four subsequent female societies, two affiliated with the Washingtonians and two with other city temperance groups. Unfortunately, no membership lists survive to test whether the wealth of these female societies and their leadership mirrored the patterns of their male counterparts. Yet both sets of women's groups engaged in the welfare activities on behalf of drunkards which historians have associated with the Washingtonians.[13]

Only the Washingtonian women, however, participated in "experience meetings" to reclaim these inebriates. "No less than five men rose to express their gratitude to the ladies for rescuing them from drunkenness," a *Sun* reporter wrote after a meeting of the Ladies Liberty Society. "One of the men stated he had a wife and five children in the city, but he did not know where—The ladies promised to find them if possible." At one meeting the society even reclaimed two females—"Yes, females," another paper noted, to buck the widely held belief that women were immune to intemperance.[14] This was the only recorded mention of female drunkards at Ladies Liberty meetings, but male tipplers appeared at them regularly. The relatively staid gatherings of other women's societies suggest that the Washingtonian females' salient difference lay not in their independence or even in their welfare efforts on behalf of inebriates, but rather in their participation in the dramatic conversions of these drunkards.

As the news and apparent success of such rituals spread, the temperance mainstream was forced to concede that it had erred in dismissing the drunkard. Even

John Marsh, secretary of the BTS when it predicted certain death for all inebriates, acknowledged that a grave mistake had been made. "A general belief was spreading through the community, that there was little or no hope for the drunkard," Marsh recalled. The Washingtonians, he admitted, had disproved it. The *Temperance Herald*, meanwhile, maintained that the inebriate was not merely salvageable but actually superior. "[B]eing a drunkard is prima facie evidence that the man has some generous and noble materials about him," the *Herald* argued, because such a person "was most likely to enter inconsiderately into jovial scenes, and thus become the surest victim." Still, only the Washingtonians affirmed that tipplers could recover. "The drunkard has undertaken the work himself . . . to view his own deformities and weak places," gushed a *Sun* report on the new society. "He has, with a determination novel in all history of self-reformation, taken his cause in his own hands— analyzed his disease and wrought his own cure."[15]

The Washingtonians inherited a complex set of ideas surrounding this "disease." Although the term "alcoholism" was not coined until 1849, a disease model had been used to describe inebriates since Benjamin Rush's 1784 depiction of habitual drunkenness as an involuntary condition. Scholars have argued that antebellum notions of inebriety shared an "epidemic" imagery, casting alcohol as an "irresistibly attractive but dangerous substance" that threatened every user with a drunkard's grave. Most modern concepts of alcoholism, by contrast, clearly divide the drinking population into "alcoholics" and other drinkers, delineating a "specific disease with . . . a specific physiological or developmental etiology"—a disease that does not emerge from drinking but predates it. Other historians attempt a slightly different categorization, distinguishing Rush's "moral model" from the twentieth-century "medical model" popularized by E. M. Jellinek. The first viewed inebriety as a "disease of the will," whereas the modern model perceives it as a progressive somatic condition with recognizable symptoms and phases. Yet Rush appears to have viewed drunkenness as a bodily as well as a mental disease, treating tipplers with many of the "heroic therapeutics" (induction of vomiting, perspiration, and blisters) associated with nineteenth-century medical practice. Baltimore temperance commentators, moreover, used the epidemic, "predisposition," moral, and physical models interchangeably. The Washingtonians adopted all four conceptual schemes but added the possibility of cure, which physicians after Rush usually denied.[16]

Admittedly, epidemic images dominated the disease models of the 1830s and 1840s. Spokesmen commonly alluded to fatal pestilences, which they viewed as analogies as well as antidotes for inebriety. In 1844, for instance, an MSTS resolution prayed that God "may deliver our land and people from the plague of Intemperance . . . from the ravages of that fire more consuming than Moloch's." The *Sun*'s weekly mortality reports further illustrated this epidemic idiom, listing "intemperance" alongside cholera, consumption, and whooping cough as a "cause of death" in Baltimore. Yet notions of drunkenness as a predisposed condition also appeared regularly during this era, sometimes in the same passage as the epidemic image.[17]

"Moral" or mentally oriented discussions of disease, meanwhile, were more common than bodily models. Newspapers and temperance journals regularly

referred to inebriates "in a state of insanity" or "perfectly crazy" from drink, yet cognizant of their own depravity: in one hilariously apocryphal *Temperance Herald* account, for example, the "crazed" drunkard is coherent enough to visit the local dentist, to prepare his fillings for the "gnashing of teeth" in the underworld. Alcohol "leads almost inevitably to intemperance," the BTS constitution declared, "by . . . producing those morbid sensations and cravings which can only be appeased by resorting to the same deleterious potations." Several pages later, however, a doctor presented a radically physical notion of inebriety's etiology. Liquor, he wrote, creates "an unequal excitement of the organs," the "very essence of disease." Charles Rosenberg's study of nineteenth-century therapeutics confirms that imbalance and disequilibrium represented the "essence of disease"—of physical disease—during this period. The BTS doctor placed inebriety under this rubric, even as other writers were portraying it as a moral failing or madness.[18]

Like their elite predecessors, the Washingtonians employed all of these disease concepts—epidemic and predisposition, "disease of the will" and disease of the body—in their discussions of drunkenness. An 1840 "experience" speaker, for example, used mental and physical disease imagery interchangeably in depicting his inebriety as "delerium tremens—the *mania a potu* that is worse than hell." The two expressions peppered Washingtonian rhetoric, evoking drunkenness rather than (as in the modern connotation) withdrawal from it. Again like earlier temperance societies, the Washingtonians characterized this sickness as a progression of physical symptoms, supposedly an earmark of the modern disease concept. Both temperance regulars and Washingtonians heard doctors lecture on the "stages of inebriety," illustrated with drawings of the human stomach at each level.[19]

Only the Washingtonians believed they could arrest this process. To the previous societies, the "stages" of drunkenness symbolized way stations along the road to "premature, inevitable death—temporal and eternal death." Emphatically, the Washingtonians rejected this dismal prognosis. "WARRANTED TO CURE," screamed their 1841 advertisement. "[T]he Pledge is recommended . . . as a never failing remedy in all stages of the disease." This view directly challenged the wisdom of doctors, who played such a prominent role in the antebellum campaign against drink that one scholar has called it "the physicians' temperance movement." Doctors "said that we could not be reformed; we should all die if we left off drinking," one Washingtonian remembered. "The doctors knew nothing about it."[20]

More audaciously, the Washingtonians maintained that this "cure" would not require repeal of Maryland's liquor-license law. Almost from their inceptions, the BTS and MSTS had demanded such a repeal. As in other matters, their position mirrored the evolving ideology of the parent American Temperance Society, which had originally championed "moral suasion" outside the political arena but had moved steadily towards a more prohibitionist stance. By the late 1830s these temperance regulars would scoff at Charles G. Finney's suggestion that an evil like alcohol could be exorcised by making it "an appendage of revival"—by convincing free moral agents that their salvation hinged upon their willful renunciation of

liquor. To temperance advocates, such views reflected a naive overestimation of human nature. One could not expect an impressionable urban adolescent to "choose" to cast away the bottle; one had to snatch it away from him, forcefully, or prevent him from obtaining it in the first place.[21]

In Baltimore the temperance regulars' opposition to liquor licensing derived from their "epidemic" image of inebriety. "Intemperance, like the cholera, is known by its effects, and if less rapid, is quite as sure in its destructiveness of human existence," declared the MSTS. In the regulars' increasingly rigid social determinism, licensed grog-shops engendered drunkenness as surely as foul watermelons spread cholera. "[T]o what source can we look for the causes which add to the votaries of intemperance," asked the MSTS, "but to the multitude of gambling and tippling shops?" Not to God, who punished inebriety but surely did not create it. Drunkards would continue to despoil His domain, however, as long as earthly legislators flaunted His law by licensing taverns.[22]

Yet the dream of prohibition continued to elude Maryland's temperance regulars. In 1838, known in statehouses across the country as the "petition year," the MSTS joined its brethren nationwide in barraging lawmakers with "memorials" against liquor licensing. By the following year, five states had tightened their licensing laws—and Maryland's assembly had skirted the issue, as it would throughout the antebellum era. Frustrated observers blamed "treating," the common practice of buying votes with liquor. Legislators "owed their elevation, or rather their election, to the corrupting influence of intoxicating drinks," attorney Charles F. Mayer argued in 1841. Mayer's mentor, perennial MSTS manager Christian Keener, blamed "moral suasionists" in the temperance ranks—an undisguised swipe at the Washingtonians.[23]

Keener was probably correct. Although "treating" was certainly widespread in Baltimore elections, the rise and influence of the Washingtonians provide a much more cogent explanation for the consistent failure of Maryland prohibitionism. Less than two months after its first public meeting, the society announced its strict opposition to all forms of legal suasion in a key exchange with city councilman J. S. Brown. After praising the Washingtonians expansively, Brown proposed that the council memorialize the state assembly to incorporate the society, thereby allowing the new group to issue stock in financing its projected "Temperance Hall." In the same resolution, however, he also moved to petition the legislature for "local option" in alcohol licensing. Although Brown did not explicitly connect the two proposals, they were too close for the Washingtonians. The society's weekly *Sun* advertisement blasted his resolution as "calculated to place the Washington Temperance Society in a false position before the community":

> [A]lthough we wage an exterminating war against the evils of intemperance, we are unwilling to proscribe any man, or set of men—but are willing to meet the *enemy* in fair field and open fight. . . . [I]n the *death* struggle with which we have grappled with the *monster*, we shall rely for

victory exclusively upon the justice of our cause, and the omnipotence of public opinion.[24]

"The enemy," we have seen, was alcohol—and to the Washingtonians, any legislative attempt to restrict it insulted their movement and discredited artisan-led reform. "Who would take from the American people, the glory of carrying out a reformation by the prompting of their own hearts and the workings of their own hands?" one member asked. Prohibition would undercut Washingtonianism, "a proud monument to . . . moral might and majesty," by denying the might and majesty of uncoerced moral transformation. Moreover, it simply would not work. "You may pile up laws as high as heaven between the drinking man and the bottle," Washingtonian president Mitchell told an 1844 audience, "and the man and the bottle will meet."[25]

During the same speech, however, Mitchell acknowledged that many original Washingtonians had forsaken strict moral suasion. "It fills [me] with amazement that men reformed from this terrible curse shall be found advocating the law of force," he complained, "they having been drawn from the horrible pit by sympathy and love." Here Mitchell took aim at Baltimore's most prominent Washingtonian "missionary," John H. W. Hawkins. Before his death in 1858, Hawkins travelled two hundred thousand miles—to every antebellum state except California—and delivered over five thousand temperance lectures. Yet as early as his first speaking tour, Hawkins's prohibitionism became apparent. "The cause of justice would be better subserved," Hawkins told a Boston audience in May 1841, "if the dram-seller should be sent to the House of Correction, instead of the miserable victim, the drunkard." Adopting the deterministic rhetoric of the temperance regulars, Hawkins would join them officially the following month as agent for the Massachusetts Temperance Society. "Though a Washingtonian, [Hawkins] was a strong prohibitionist," recalled John Marsh, one of Hawkins's key patrons, "clear in his views of the enormity of the traffic and the wickedness of the legislatures in licensing it."[26]

In Baltimore, however, the society held fast to its original anti-prohibitionism. The Washingtonians also retained their simple pledge of personal abstinence, refusing to broaden it into a promise to seek the removal of liquor from society. Following the national temperance societies, both the BTS and MSTS pledged committed members to "discountenance" the use of alcohol in the community as well as renounce it themselves. Yet to the Washingtonians, these pledges smacked of the same intimidation as anti-licensing legislation. "There are inherent principles in the mind of man, that will not brook coercion, compulsion, denunciation, proscription, or dictatorial authority," one wrote. "If an attempt is made to force my Will, my nature rebels." Washingtonians also feared that the more inclusive pledge would alienate potential recruits. "A. will not sign the pledge, lest by so doing he proscribe his kind neighbor B., who is engaged in the trade," another explained. "C. will not sign, because his brother D. is a distiller."[27] Elsewhere, Washingtonians adopted the regulars' extended oath. Indeed, ideological com-

promise between "moral" and "legal" suasionists occurred throughout antebellum reform—even in the highly polarized antislavery movement.[28] The Baltimoreans' unique intensity lay precisely in their refusal to compromise—in their undiluted opposition to prohibition and to its coercive cousin, the broad pledge.

As the Washingtonians began their third year, even the Maryland State Temperance Society applauded their stunning success. "[M]ore has been accomplished during this last year [by the Washingtonians] for the cause of temperance," the MSTS' 1842 report admitted, "than during the whole twelve which preceded it."[29] Nevertheless, a considerable gap still separated the two factions. Whereas the MSTS March report highlighted the convergence of traditional and Washingtonian strategies, the state temperance convention in May underscored the two key issues that continued to divide the mainstream and artisan organizations: the pledge and prohibition. The previous year, the convention's fifty-four delegates had approved the MSTS pledge to "discountenance" as well as abstain from drink; now a stronger resolution proposed that each local society be compelled to adopt it as well, "to secure greater uniformity of action and views." Passage would thus exclude the Washingtonians from "any associational enterprise" with other state organizations, as Washingtonian president Mitchell argued. Mitchell's speech provoked a "tempest," the *Sun* reported, as the meeting descended into a cacophony of interruption and accusation. When delegates finally tabled the resolution, which was "nearly as hot as sixth proof brandy," the motion prevailed by a single vote.[30]

This narrow margin illustrated the extent of mainstreamers' respect for the Washingtonians in 1842. Although only two Washingtonian auxiliaries had sent representatives to the convention, other delegates rose to defend them during the pledge debates and subsequent deliberations on prohibition. In language nearly as strong as the pledge proposal, a resolution had declared the "necessity and propriety" of all societies petitioning the state assembly to rescind the license law. After "animated discussion," however, this resolution was withdrawn and replaced by two much milder motions. These diluted proposals passed by a slim five-vote difference, again demonstrating the strength of pro-Washingtonian sentiment within mainstream organizations.[31]

Despite the affinity among members of these two camps, conflicts of style and strategy had frustrated all previous attempts to coordinate them. Yet the publicity surrounding the convention lent a "new impulse" to the Washingtonians, whom the mainstream societies gingerly courted in the summer of 1842. Under MSTS auspices these societies had formed the city's first comprehensive temperance organization, the Baltimore Central Convention, which met monthly to plan area temperance activities. Voting to admit the Washingtonians in September, the convention avoided the state pledge strictures in the simplest possible way—by ignoring them. Instead of insisting that the Washingtonians change their pledge, temperance regulars simply decreed that the pledge did not matter. "[T]he little

difficulties that hitherto have stood in the way of a perfect union among the various societies, have been removed," the convention's secretary exulted.[32]

"Little difficulties" behind them, the Washingtonian and mainstream groups celebrated their new unity in a series of jubilant joint meetings. "Here we have a host of noble spirits lead [sic] on by such men as Keener and Mitchell—the captains of the *once* contending forces—but, thank God . . . contending no longer," reported the *Visiter*, following the first gathering. By the end of the year, the Washingtonians and their auxiliaries could boast over five thousand members—roughly half of the Central Convention, which topped ten thousand in early 1843. With at least one-third of the city's white adult males enlisted in one convention society or another, the *Sun* confidently predicted the ultimate temperance triumph. "The day is not far distant," it wrote, "when few will be found who have not enrolled themselves under the banner of teetotalism."[33]

Within six months the Washingtonians would abandon the convention amid a savage controversy surrounding their origins. Earlier, temperance regulars had claimed credit for three innovations commonly attributed to the new society—the recruitment of alcoholics, female welfare efforts on behalf of them, and junior societies—and the Washingtonians had objected meekly, if at all.[34] When these critics alleged that a minister had induced the "Original Six" to form the group, however, the Washingtonians howled. Previously, the mainstream had sought to usurp Washingtonian reforms; now it sought to usurp the Washingtonians themselves by asserting that a clergyman's temperance lecture on 2 April 1840 had prompted their founders to establish the society three days later.

The first allusion to this preacher appeared in the *Eleventh Annual Report* of the MSTS, the same 1842 pamphlet that had praised the Washingtonians for accomplishing more in a single year than temperance regulars had done in twelve. No Washingtonian history mentioned any such clergyman, emphasizing instead the ingenuity and inspiration of the Original Six. Yet in an era of improving relations, neither temperance camp contradicted or even acknowledged the other's claim. When their old ally John H. W. Hawkins embraced the MSTS version in the national *Journal of the American Temperance Union*, however, the Washingtonians angrily denied it—and the "Question of Veracity" was born. Following a flurry of acrimonious *Journal* exchanges between Hawkins, Mitchell, and Keener, the dispute snowballed into Baltimore via the *Visiter* and its irascible editor, J. E. Snodgrass. Although he had defended the Washingtonians at the 1842 convention, Snodgrass now scorned their account of their origin—and added jabs at their class and religious backgrounds as well.[35]

In its scathing account of the Washingtonians' third anniversary jubilee, for example, the *Visiter* described a "temperance ship" in the procession and suggested that instead of the old favorite,

> "What shall we do with a drunken sailor?
> Put him in the ship, and make him bailor,"

the many seamen marching along its stern should have sung,

MARY ARLINGTON'S FATHER SIGNS THE PLEDGE THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF JAMES LATIMER.

"The Power of the Pledge"—the story of one man's redemption—written for the temperance newspaper, the *New York Organ*, 8 April 1848. As Washingtonian membership rose, competing temperance organizations increasingly mimicked pledge signing and other rituals aimed at "reformed drunkards."

> "What shall we do with the unpledged sailor?
> Put him behind the ship, to glorify the tailor."

William K. Mitchell was, of course, a tailor. Although "no man should be ashamed of his calling," the *Visiter* acknowledged, no less a personage than Christian Keener swore that Mitchell had tried to excise his occupation from the MSTS history of the Washingtonians. The hand of Baltimore's temperance elite was equally apparent in the *Visiter*'s barrage against another aspect of the Washingtonians' background—their drunkenness. Again from Keener, the *Visiter* learned that the Washingtonians "sneer at the noble pioneers" of the MSTS, who "were spending their fortunes, as well as lives, to build up the cause while [the Washingtonians] were enacting their midnight orgies in grog-shops."[36]

Yet the newspaper and the regulars it defended reserved their angriest attacks for the new society's alleged anti-clericalism. Mitchell had chosen the jubilee's chaplains "on account of their comparative obscurity," the *Visiter* charged, "dreading, as he and his clique do, any thing like clerical influence as they would a rattlesnake." Although they convened in churches and often started meetings with a prayer, the Washingtonians were expressly non-denominational: ministers were welcome to attend, but not to preach. "If a clergyman joins the society, he is

precisely on the same footing with all the other[s]," a member explained, "and his ministerial character is not recognized among us." Yet clergymen at first praised the Washingtonians, whose idiom of "experience sharing" owed much to antebellum evangelism. Like antislavery's Garrisonians, who also borrowed Christian rhetoric but rejected ministerial control, the Washingtonians could co-exist comfortably with their clergy-sponsored rivals until circumstances contrived to crack them apart.[37]

Neither the regulars' anti-clerical critique nor their class-related assaults appeared until the Question of Veracity, when the Washingtonians publicly repudiated "individuals of the highest standing in society," as Hawkins warned, "whose honesty cannot, dare not, be doubted." Alongside the regulars' new recruitment efforts, Hawkins's jeremiad highlighted both the ingenuity and the inflexibility of mainstream antebellum reform. Discarding the assumption that the poor automatically mimicked the rich ("If no respectable men were in the habit of using spirits," the MSTS intoned in 1833, "the youth of the country would be freed"), wealthy temperance regulars sought for the first time to enlist less affluent members in a host of competing non-Washingtonian societies. Yet the wealthy insisted that men of "intelligence and virtue" continue to direct the new organizations and balked when the Washingtonians accused these supposedly spotless elites of deliberate dishonesty. For such a charge undermined the very foundation of organic order, in which "the best men" ruled. The response of these "best men" almost perfectly paralleled the Whig reaction to Jacksonianism, which also appealed directly to the lower and "middling" strata of society. Whigs such as Henry Clay eventually fought "fire with fire" to battle this powerful new adversary, adopting the same Jacksonian methods of "ad captandum" ("pleasing the crowd") to craft the notorious "Log Cabin" campaign of "Old Tippecanoe," William Henry Harrison. Yet the Whigs retained "the flavor of the older model," in which "respectable persons," "prominent characters," and "persons of influence" directed the party's state and local machinery—and denounced incursions by "ignoble" upstarts.[38]

Like Whigs in the political realm, then, elite social reformers sought to widen their constituency without weakening their command, alternately copying and castigating their challengers. By 1844 Baltimore's temperance regulars were censuring the Washingtonians as enemies of God, not simply of His clergy. Quoting a "scandalous toast" at a recent meeting—"William K. Mitchell, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD"—the *Visiter* declared that "all Christendom should be aroused" against the society. Approvingly, the newspaper also quoted an 1844 Boston address by the famed Washingtonian lecturer John B. Gough that tied the society's rapid demise to its religious improprieties. "Washingtonianism as an ism, is down," declared Gough, who—like Hawkins—had aligned with temperance regulars soon after his initial success. "[I]nfidelity has killed the Washingtonian reform." Gough spoke prematurely about the society in Massachusetts, where twenty thousand had recently rallied on behalf of the Washingtonians.[39] But Gough's death knell rang true in Baltimore, even if his explanation did not. Mitchell toured New England

in 1844 because Washingtonianism was indeed "killed" in his native city, except for a few last gasps. Mortally wounded by temperance regulars, its final death would occur by its own hand—a hand unguided by modern theories and therapies.

Baltimore's Washington Temperance Society began its tailspin during the Question of Veracity of 1843, aborting its brief alliance with the temperance mainstream amidst a flood of recrimination that inhibited both the size and the frequency of its meetings. In 1844 membership plummeted so drastically that the society did not advertise or celebrate its 5 April anniversary, which only three years earlier had sparked a procession of six thousand. Even its president doubted its viability. "Why have [we] not the five and six hundreds in our meetings, saluting one another, as we once had?" Mitchell asked. The 1844 state temperance convention provided another measure of the decline of the Washingtonians, whose anti-prohibition stance did not find a single adherent among several dozen delegates. Unanimously, they adopted nearly the identical motion that had provoked such fierce debate only two years before, calling upon all "friends of temperance" to petition the state assembly on behalf of license repeal. The delegates concluded the convention by thanking God "for the harmony which prevailed at the convention"; more eloquently than any membership statistic, this "harmony" testified to the downfall of the Washingtonians in Baltimore. Although the society continued to hold anniversary and Fourth of July reunions until 1850, it had ceased practical operation by the time William K. Mitchell resigned in April 1845.[40]

Like the authors of a plaintive 1844 Washingtonian pamphlet, one is tempted to ascribe the society's speedy demise to its "intemperate opposition"—to the detractors whose scurrilous attacks burst across Baltimore's newspapers in response to the Question of Veracity. Indeed, a Washingtonian journal in New York encouraged Mitchell to accept a broader pledge and otherwise accommodate the temperance regulars, in light of "their respectability, their wealth, and consequent influence." For "with these arrayed against us," the journal reasoned, "the contest would be so unequal that we could never triumph." The contest was unequal, due primarily to the regulars' "consequent influence" over the press. Although the *Sun* remained neutral on most temperance matters, the power of an acutely anti-Washingtonian weekly like the *Visiter* or even of a monthly journal like Keener's *Temperance Herald* cannot be underestimated. Keener himself attributed the Washingtonians' success to their early "favorable notice" in the papers, which artisans and laborers often read at the shop.[41] If such "favorable notice" could swell Washingtonian membership, however, negative reporting could just as easily quell it. Thus we should not be surprised that the society shrank as the *Visiter* and *Herald* amplified their attacks.

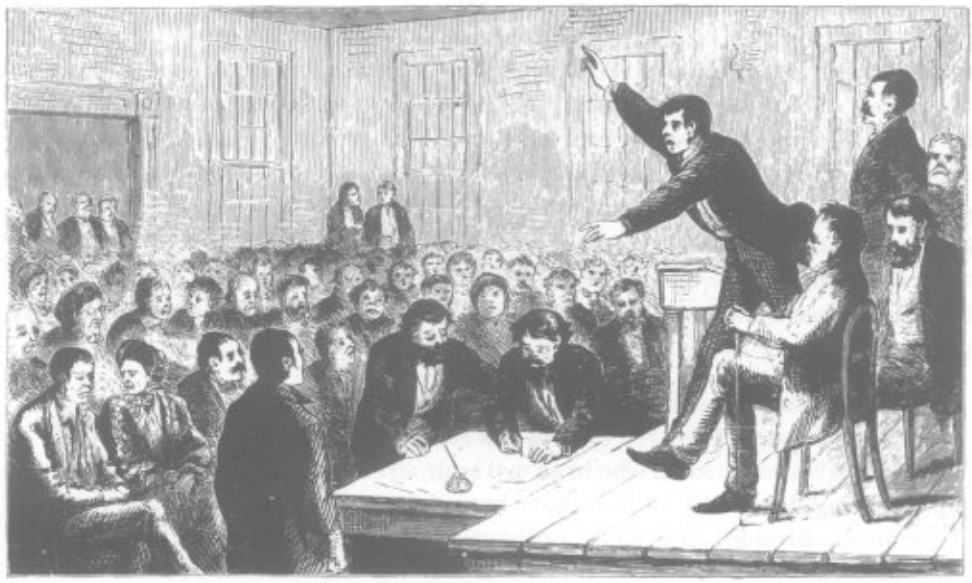
The Washingtonian experience elsewhere in the nation—where the society provoked less overt hostility but suffered a similarly abrupt decline—suggests that mainstream attacks cannot solely explain the virtual disappearance of the Bal-

timore society. Admittedly, the Washingtonian organizations that remained in the good graces of the temperance regulars—that adopted mainstream positions on the pledge, prohibition, and the prominence of clergy—tended to survive for a few more years than the founding society.[42] But all of these groups had faded by the late 1840s, if not earlier.

Previous explanations for this ignominious end have emphasized the Washingtonians' lack of a strong organizational structure, which might have checked members' frequent "backsliding" (resumption of drink) and sustained the original fervor of the society's early "experience meetings." Indeed, the 1842 formation of the highly regimented Sons of Temperance by several worried Washingtonians seems to support such an interpretation. Stressing strict hierarchy, secret fraternal ritual, and mutual assistance, the Sons sought a stronger society that would "bind those who may have been so unfortunate as to acquire the insatiate thirst for alcoholic drinks more securely to the paths of rectitude and honor."[43] Yet this analysis begs the question of the Washingtonians' downfall, because it does not ask why "backsliding" became so prevalent or why experience meetings lost their luster. To argue that both phenomena would have been prevented by a sturdier organization does not explain how they arose in the first place. Nor can we dismiss them as functions of the "higher-risk population" that the Washingtonians addressed, for subsequent societies would draw members from this population yet suffer less attrition. Instead, we must look to the Washingtonians' program, focus and rhetoric—and to a comparison with their self-conscious step-child, Alcoholics Anonymous, which applies notions of drink and disease that nineteenth-century reformers could not have anticipated.[44]

Neatly encapsulated by their president's motto, "Every Man Brings A Man," the Washingtonians' "program" for the reclamation of alcoholics never developed beyond this simple dictum. Leaders of the movement presumed that drunkards could reform immediately by the simple act of signing the pledge. "As soon as my name was recorded I felt instant relief," one Washingtonian recalled, after detailing his dozens of prior attempts to renounce liquor. To comply with Mitchell's maxim, members occasionally dragged abject, homeless inebriates into meetings—where even such "hardened cases" were reportedly transformed by a new set of garments and a simple stroke of the pen. "I saw [Washingtonians] fitting out some who had been redeemed from the degrading vice of drunkenness," one observer wrote to the *Sun*, "and in place of their rags, giving them good comfortable clothing." These tipplers had obviously just joined the group, but in the eyes of the writer they were already "redeemed." The society need only induce the drinker to quit drinking, Washingtonian author John Zug assumed, and "the rest must regulate itself." Thus the Washingtonians ignored the alcoholic's "conduct, his principles, or his opinions" as well as his religion, a *Sun* reviewer of Zug's book added, "and herein lies the great secret of their unexampled success."[45]

Herein lay the secret of their failure, as well. Certainly the Washingtonians' aversion to prosletyzing and preaching—both staples of mainstream reform—won many followers during the society's initial burst upon Baltimore's temperance



THE WASHINGTONIANS.

The Washingtonians' experience-sharing motif—like their presumption of immediate "cure"—echoed the revivalism that swept across America in these years. From J. E. Stebbins, *Fifty Years History of the Temperance Cause* (Hartford: L. Stebbins, 1874).

stage. Yet by expanding this taboo across the drunkard's entire moral and psychological landscape, the Washingtonians could neither address the roots of his drunkenness nor devise a program to control it. By contrast, Alcoholics Anonymous directly and explicitly examines the drunkard's "conduct," "principles" and "opinions," devoting the first eleven tiers of its vaunted twelve-step approach to the alcoholic's spiritual and psychological inventory. AA's final step, in a delicious irony, mirrors the Washingtonians' first and only maxim: to help other alcoholics. To the Washingtonians, steeped in antebellum revivalism, such aid consisted merely of bringing others to meetings, where "redemption" (like religious conversion) would occur instantly; in AA, so-called "Twelfth-Step" therapeutics extend across the lifetime of every member, whose ongoing recovery hinges upon receiving this assistance and providing it to others. Human beings are not—and can never be, AA maintains—absolutely independent. Indeed, to AA the very independence that the Washingtonians celebrated represents the key fallacy of "exceptional thinking"—the warped belief system of alcoholics. Like Adam and Eve at the Tree of Knowledge, the alcoholic seeks to exert complete independence, to "be God." His or her penalty is the same: expulsion from the Eden of limited independence, to a craggy wasteland of even less independence, or none at all. Unlike Genesis, however, AA asserts that the banished may return—after they have accepted their own finitude. Pride and vanity, not cherubim and a flaming sword, guard the gates of alcoholic recovery.[46]

From this perspective, the frequent backsliding of Washingtonians stemmed not just from an absence of a coherent program for recovery, but from the fallacy of total independence that this vacuum implied. Refusing to admit any restrictions upon what one spokesman termed "the independent self-government of its members," the society could not recover after members' recidivism had undermined its claim. Scholars have correctly associated the Washingtonians' antipathy to compulsion with Jacksonian laissez-faire doctrine; strict adherence to it may actually have debilitated the Washingtonians by engendering an exaggerated and unrealistic self-reliance.[47] Even the Washingtonians' meek 1844 acknowledgment of backsliding betrayed "exceptional thinking," describing their society of absolutely independent artisans like Paradise itself:

> In some instances, some of our brightest stars have been plucked from the galaxy of hope. The arch enemy, has stolen within our happy Eden, and has beguiled away some who in an evil hour, stretched forth their hand, and, venturing the forbidden fruit, have brought misery and woe again to their domestic fireside. But while we have cause to lament . . . [m]any have returned.[48]

Few backsliders rejoined the Washingtonian fold. The society, after all, had assured them permanent relief from drink when they entered. Alcoholics Anonymous, on the other hand, redefines alcoholism so a final "cure" is logically impossible. Alcoholism is a total lifestyle, an identity rather than a condition, so that men and women do not have alcoholism; they are alcoholics, now and forever. The organization cannot change this situation, but instead tries to help alcoholics admit it—as a positive fact of self, derived from their "wholeness of accepted limitation."[49] Alcoholics Anonymous thus seeks consciously to deflate the stigma upon the disease, whereas the Washingtonians actually reinforced it. By stressing that they had been drunkards—that, as "reformed men," their intemperance was in the past—Washingtonians might have evoked pity for inebriates, but they confirmed the traditional notion that current or "unreformed" drunkards were morally reprehensible. By contrast, AA members ritually affirm their status—"My name is ____, and I am an alcoholic"—and thereby undermine the notion that an alcoholic identity is somehow "spoiled."[50]

Meanwhile, the Washingtonians increasingly sought members and spectators who were free from this tarnish of a tippler's past. Unlike AA, which has stubbornly retained its exclusive focus upon alcoholics and their direct associates, the Washingtonians accepted anyone willing to sign their pledge. Initially, their meetings attracted primarily drunkards—and so many others that temperance elites copied the Washingtonians' experience-sharing format. Typical elite experience speeches emphasized the subject's youthful use of alcohol, his conversion to teetotalism before addiction could set in, and the importance of preventive measures in the war against drink. Even Christian Keener confessed that he had occasionally taken wine in the years preceding the formation of the Baltimore Temperance Society. By stressing moderate drinking in the distant past, temperance regulars could

borrow the popular experience method without compromising their own moral integrity or reputation. Thereafter, the Washingtonians started to experiment with other types of meetings. So sensitive about their relative size that they refused to release membership lists, the Washingtonians abandoned their strict experience-sharing format at the height of its popularity to compete with the mainstream groups that had pilfered it.[51]

To secure their position atop the city's temperance ladder, the Washingtonians expanded their meetings to include concerts, sing-a-longs, debates, a staged "reconciliation" between a reformed man and his wife, and even an address by "the young temperance champion, Master Sobrieski Turner, aged 4 years." Imitated in turn by the temperance regulars, these theatrics sought to lure "the moderate drinker, as well as the immoderate," as one Washingtonian advertisement emphasized. Their price, in other words, was the loss of the society's stress upon drunkards. By 1844 even Washingtonian experience speeches were aimed at a wider audience. "Addresses and Experiences may be expected from genuine Washingtonians," another advertisement blared: the drawing card was "genuine," invoking the see-for-yourself "operational aesthetic" of Jacksonian America.[52] Like midgets, magicians, and stunt artists, these self-proclaimed "reformed men" would allow each viewer to evaluate reality—to decide, that is, if the Washingtonians were "genuine." They would not, however, help rescue other drunkards. The experience meeting as a reform vehicle was dead, muffled by its originators' meandering focus.

Finally, the new society lacked a coherent and cohesive ideology of drink, as E. M. Jellinek remarked over forty years ago.[53] In particular, the Washingtonians never resolved the glaring contradiction between the epidemic imagery of alcohol that they inherited from their predecessors and the staunch anti-prohibitionism that so infuriated these elites. Denying the drinker's power to "regulate himself," the Washingtonians simultaneously insisted upon the distiller's right to produce and market drink. This freedom was "full and unconditional, as we concede the same right to those who manufacture Gun-powder, Acquefortis, Prusic Acid, Laudannum, Hemp, Steel, and any other article," one member wrote.[54] Unlike these items, however, alcohol could never be used in a safe or responsible manner. How, then, could the Washingtonians oppose its state control? Scripture, they claimed, mandated against such restriction:

> It was no part of the blessed religion which that Gospel proclaimed, to raise its denunciations against the laws of the country wherein it was promulgated. It depended upon its own peaceful and heavenly sway. . . . So [Washingtonianism] . . . asks no aid from the legislature by the repeal of existing laws, or the enactment of others.[55]

Yet the Gospel would not have countenanced state-sanctioned murder. As long as the Washingtonians admitted that alcohol was universally lethal, they remained vulnerable to the charge that their failure to embrace prohibitionism made them accessories to mass slaughter. If a druggist were to discover and distribute a new

poison that exterminated thousands, famed temperance advocate and United States senator Theodore Frelinghuysen argued, the nation would not hesitate to outlaw it—or to label opponents of this ban as a parties to the carnage.[56] Although it has consistently rejected prohibition, Alcoholics Anonymous has also avoided Frelinghuysen's label by discarding his epidemic image of alcohol and acknowledging that some drinkers can use liquor responsibly; indeed, it defines "alcoholics" as those who cannot do so. The Washingtonians, on the other hand, opposed prohibition but adhered to the epidemic image—with disastrous consequences for their movement.

No such contradiction plagued the Washingtonians' mainstream rivals, whose staunch support for legal suasion sustained them into the next decade. Like most American temperance societies, however, they declined or disappeared in the late 1850s as attention shifted to sectional rivalries and war. Their mimicry of Washingtonian experience-sharing suggests that the temperance movement's mid-century hiatus may have stemmed as much from its internal shortcomings as from the nation's impending schism. Lacking foreknowledge of the addiction and treatment models that would buoy Alcoholics Anonymous, neither the Washingtonians nor their competitors could articulate a therapeutic regimen for the tipplers they galvanized. Without censuring reformers for "failing" to harness concepts that did not exist at the time, historians can exploit these concepts to elucidate the societies' demise—and the survival of their successors.

NOTES

1. Quoted in J. C. Furnas, *The Life and Times of The Late Demon Rum* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1965), p. 85. The author would like to thank Ronald G. Walters, Susan E. Coffin, and members of the American History seminar at the Johns Hopkins University for their advice, encouragement, and support in the preparation of this essay.

2. The *locus classicus* of the older interpretation is Richard Hofstadter's dismissal of prohibition—the legislative fruit of American temperance—as a "rural-evangelical virus." Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 290; see also Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963). For the revised view, see Jed Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Ian R. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979).

3. For overviews of antebellum reform, see Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers 1815–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978). Although his-

torians may have underestimated artisan membership in the antislavery movement and related "crusades," recent studies reinforce the typically elite profile of the leadership of such efforts—and corroborate the classic contemporary depiction of antebellum reform campaigns in which "men of wealth, influence, and power" presided over "bone-and-muscle" mechanics and laborers. See Edward Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File: A Social Profile of the Abolitionists' Constituency* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), esp. pp. 143–53.

4. For previous accounts of the Washingtonians, see Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Significance of Alcohol Prohibitionists for the Washington Temperance Societies," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 41 (1980): 37–77; Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder*, pp. 32–42; Robert L. Hampel, *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts, 1813–1852* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp. 103–28; John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), pp. 182–222; Milton A. Maxwell, "The Washingtonian Movement," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 11 (1950): 410–55; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 159–224; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 306–14. For "over half a million" estimate, see Krout, *Origins*, p. 198. Krout acknowledges the unreliability of most Washingtonian statistics; see Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, p.160 (claiming 12,000 Baltimore adherents to the cause in late 1841) and Baltimore *Sun*, 17 December 1842 (Washington Temperance Society, 4,569; Washington Auxiliary #2,107; Junior Washingtons, 629).

5. Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), esp. pp. 134–46; *The Constitution and Address of the Baltimore Temperance Society* (Baltimore: J. D. Toy, 1830), p. 16.

6. Baltimore *Sun*, 22 December 1840. The two detailed accounts of the founding of the Washingtonians appear in John Zug, *The Foundation, Progress, and Principles of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore, and the Influence It has had on the Temperance Movements in the United States* (Baltimore: John D. Toy, 1842), and *Eleventh Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (Baltimore: Samuel Sands, 1842).

7. *Sun*, 18 November 1840; letter by John Zug in *Journal of the American Temperance Union*, 12 December 1840, quoted in W. G. Hawkins, *Life of John H. W. Hawkins* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Co., 1859), pp. 67–68; *Sun*, 4 January 1841, 27 December 1841, and 7 December 1842.

8. For membership lists of the BTS and MSTS, see *Constitution and Address of the Baltimore Temperance Society; First Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (Annapolis: Jeremiah Hughes, 1832); *Second Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (Annapolis: William M'Neir, 1833); *Sixth Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (n.p., 1837); *Seventh and Eighth Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (Baltimore: Samuel Sands, 1839); *Eleventh Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society*. Lists of the Washingtonian and new non-Washingtonian memberships were compiled by recording the names appearing in *Sun* reports, editorials, and advertisements about the different societies between 1840 and 1845. To appreciate the "vast socioeconomic distance" between

the Washingtonians and their temperance predecessors, note that the first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, an influential city councilman, and the area's premier trial attorney all served as founding vice-presidents of the Baltimore Temperance Society. Eminent BTS members, meanwhile, included the treasurer of the Savings Bank of Baltimore, a renowned University of Maryland surgeon, and a wealthy dry goods magnate. All but the last of these six notables also became vice-president or manager of the Maryland State Temperance Society. Note also that even Rev. James G. Hamner, one of many clergymen who managed the MSTS, amassed a fortune 50 percent greater than the riches of the most prosperous Washingtonian—and that Hamner's assessment of $13,059 (at a time when per capita income hovered around $150) was dwarfed by the wealth of MSTS executives Christian Keener and Charles F. Mayer, who were appraised in 1841 at $31,627 and $51,663. Washingtonian president Mitchell, by contrast, was assessed at $3695. Meanwhile, members of the four largest non-Washingtonian societies that arose in 1841—the Howards, Neptunes, Marions, and North Baltimores—averaged an assessment of $2890, barely greater than the Washingtonian mean of $2210. Yet the new societies' leaders included such luminaries as the B&O's first treasurer and a successful silver merchant. See *Machett's Baltimore Director for 1840–1* (Baltimore: Baltimore Director Office, 1841); *Machett's Baltimore Director or Reporter of Householders, Corrected up to June, 1842* (Baltimore: Baltimore Director Office, 1842); and Field Assessor's Work Books, RG4, Series 2, Baltimore City Archives.

9. Maxwell, "The Washingtonian Movement," p. 412; *An Address Delivered by the Hon. Charles F. Mayer, at the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Maryland State Temperance Society, on the 15th January, 1833* (Annapolis: William M'Neir, 1833), pp 20–21; *Maryland Temperance Herald*, 4 January 1845. For nineteenth-century responses to cholera, see Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), and Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 232–33. The dual inscriptions on the banner of an MSTS-affiliated Baltimore temperance organization summarized the ambivalence of temperance regulars who sought to "stigmatize the enemy"—that is, drunkards—"without jeopardizing all opportunities of winning converts from their hated ranks." Beneath depictions of a tomb, a weeping willow, and a grieving woman, one caption cried out, "Oh, intemperance, what hast thou done!" But the other tempered this sympathy with a stern dose of moralism: "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven." See Ellen Dwyer, "The Rhetoric of Reform: A Study of Verbal Persuasion and Belief Systems in the Anti-Masonic and Temperance Movements" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1977), p. 196; *Sun*, 6 April 1841.

10. This apparent paradox—morality without moralism—fused two corollaries of the rejection of divine determinism that historians have linked to the Second Great Awakening of the 1820s and 1830s. If God did not predetermine personal salvation, the first corollary held, individuals were responsible for their actions and hence culpable for intemperance. The second corollary held that society was responsible for individual behavior and thus could be blamed for intemperance if it failed to shield the citizenry from this menace. As the 1830s wore on, the Baltimore temperance mainstream would move steadily towards this second corol-

lary and a new social determinism of drink. The Washingtonians, meanwhile, would borrow the notion of individual responsibility from the first corollary and individual blamelessness from the second. See John L. Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America, 1815–1865," in David Brion Davis, ed., *Antebellum Reform* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 156; Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), esp. pp. 95–115.

11. *Sun*, 14 December 1840. For "two-thirds" claim, see, e.g., Hawkins, *Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, pp. 67–68. For "reformed drunkard" nomenclature, see *Temperance Herald*, 20 April 1844, and *Sun*, 26 March and 2 August 1841. For "Baltimore principle," see *Temperance Herald*, 27 January 1844.

12. David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); *Sun*, 14 December 1840; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, pp. 249–50, 310–11; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, p. 179. See also Ruth M. Alexander, "'We Are Engaged as a Band of Sisters': The Meaning of Domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840–1850," *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988): 763–85. Below is a list of the six female temperance societies that appeared in Baltimore in 1841–42, their male affiliates, and the date that each was first mentioned in the *Sun*:

Mary Marion - Marion T. A. Society - 16 November 1841
Ladies' Liberty Society - Washington T. Society - 1 December 1841
North Baltimore Soc. - North Baltimore T. A. Soc. - 11 December 1841
Jefferson T. Soc. - J.T.S. (Wash. Aux. #2) - 28 December 1841
West Baltimore Ladies - W.B.T.S. (Wash Aux #4) - 3 February 1842
Howard Ladies - Howard T. Society - 23 March 1842

13. *Sun*, 25 November and 1 December 1841. For descriptions of social welfare provided by both types of societies, see ibid., 23 January 1843.

14. *Sun*, 27 December 1842; *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, 25 February 1843. For females' alleged immunity to alcoholism, see *Sun*, 7 December 1842, and *Second Annual Report of the MSTS*, p. 15.

15. John Marsh, *Temperance Recollections: Labors, Defeats, Triumphs. An Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1866), pp. 75–76; *Temperance Herald*, 20 April 1844; *Sun*, 11 August 1842.

16. Sheila Blume, "The Disease Concept of Alcoholism, 1983," *Journal of Psychiatric Treatment and Evaluation*, 5 (1983): 471–78; Harry Gene Levine, "The Discovery of Addiction: Changing Conceptions of Habitual Drunkenness in America," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 39 (1978): 143–82; Robin Room, "Governing Images of Alcohol and Drug Problems" (Ph.D. diss., University of California–Berkley, 1978), pp. 44, 56; Genevieve M. Ames, "American Beliefs About Alcoholism: Historical Perspectives on the Medical-Moral Controversy," in Linda A. Bennett and Genevieve M. Ames, eds., *The American Experience With Alcohol: Contrasting Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985); Albert E. Wilkerson, Jr., "A History of the Concept of Alcoholism as a Disease" (D.S.W. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1966), pp. 47, 68; Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolu-

tion: Medicine, Meaning, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 20 (1977): 485–506.

17. *Sun*, 6 November 1844; ibid., 21 July 1841. For an instance of the mixture of epidemic and predisposition imagery in a single passage, see the address to the BTS by University of Maryland surgery professor N. R. Smith in *Constitution and Address of the BTS*, pp. 31–33.

18. *Temperance Herald*, 21 December 1844; Constitution and Address of the BTS, pp. 4, 31; Rosenberg, "Therapeutic Revolution," p. 487. For examples of drunkenness described as an "insanity" or disease of the will, see *Sun*, 26 February and 1 March 1842.

19. *Sun*, 14 December 1840. For physician lectures to temperance elites on stages of alcoholism, see ibid., 8 December 1841; to the Washingtonians, see ibid., 27 December 1841.

20. *Constitution and Address of the BTS*, p. 7; *Sun*, 15 July 1841; Wilkerson, "History," p. 40; Hawkins, *Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, p. 207. For a general discussion of physicians in antebellum temperance reform, see James H. Cassedy, "An American Hangover: The Medical Profession and Intemperance, 1800–1860," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 50 (1976): 405–13.

21. William G. McLoughlin, "Charles Grandison Finney," in Davis, ed., *Antebellum Reform*, p. 104. For the evolving prohibitionism of the national temperance movement, see Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 153–81, and Dwyer, "The Rhetoric of Reform," esp. p. 244.

22. *Seventh and Eighth Annual Report*, 20–21; *Sixth Annual Report*, 11–12.

23. *Seventh and Eighth Annual Report*, 5–6; *Sun*, 27 December 1841; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Maryland State Temperance Society* (Baltimore: Samuel Sands, 1844), p. 7. For the "petition year" of 1838, see Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, p. 173. In 1839 Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, and Rhode Island all passed laws to restrict liquor sales or licensing.

24. *Sun*, 20 January 1841. For "treating" in antebellum Baltimore, see H. H. Walker Lewis, "The Baltimore Police Case of 1860," *Maryland Law Review*, 26 (1966): 215–28.

25. *Sun*, 6 April 1843; *Visiter*, 16 July 1844. See also Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 199–201.

26. *Visiter*, 16 July 1844; Hawkins, *Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, p. 114; Marsh, *Temperance Recollections*, pp. 84–85. On Hawkins, see also Mark E. Lender, *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 216–17.

27. *Visiter*, 18 June 1842; Zug, *Foundation, Progress, and Principles*, pp. 52–53. The original BTS and MSTS pledges both restricted members to a renunciation of "ardent spirits," adding beer and wine only after the parent American Temperance Union adopted the "teetotal pledge" in 1836. *Constitution and Address of the BTS*, pp. 5, 9–11; *Sixth Annual Report of the MSTS*, p. 2; Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 153–56. The ATU, MSTS, and BTS pledges all prohibited use of alcohol "as a beverage," allowing doctors to continue to prescribe it—and reflecting once more the tremendous influence of physicians within the temperance elite.

28. See Walters, *American Reformers*, pp. 77–100.

29. *Eleventh Annual Report*, p. 4.

30. *Sun*, 19 May and 20 May 1842; *Visiter*, 21 May 1842.

31. *Sun*, 20 May 1842; *Visiter*, 25 June 1842.

32. *Visiter*, 24 September 1842. For earlier stabs at inter-society coordination, see *Sun*, 1 March 1841, 3 November 1841, and 3 January 1842.

33. *Visiter*, 24 September 1842; *Sun*, 9 January 1843. For joint meetings, see *Sun*, 20 September, 1, 18, 19 October, and 21 November 1842. For figures on the growth of the Washingtonians and other convention societies, see *Sun*, 7 December 1842, and *Visiter*, 11 March 1843. Membership figures were unavailable for the city's female, black, and German societies, all of which the convention seems to have ignored.

34. *Sun*, 1 December 1841; ibid., 23 January 1843; ibid., 6 August 1841.

35. *Visiter*, 18, 25 March, and 1, 5 April 1843; *Sun*, 5 April 1843. For descriptions of similar discord between Washingtonians and temperance regulars in New York, see Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 202–5, and Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, pp. 312–13.

36. *Visiter*, 8 April 1843.

37. *Visiter*, 8 April 1843; Zug, *Foundation, Progress, and Principles*, pp. 59–61. Although the MSTS report stated that the Washingtonians held their first public meeting in the Masonic Hall on St. Paul Street, *Sun* advertisements indicate that the gathering took place at the Monument Street Church. See *Eleventh Annual Report*, p. 5, and *Sun*, 18 November 1840. For charges of anti-clericism against Washingtonians elsewhere, see Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder*, pp. 36–41, and Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 195–99.

38. *Visiter*, 27 May 1843; *Second Annual Report of the MSTS*, p. 9; Lynn L. Marshall, "The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party," *American Historical Review*, 72 (1967), pp. 449, 459–60.

39. *Visiter*, 31 and 24 August 1844; Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 199–200; "George N. Briggs" in Lender, *Dictionary*, pp. 65–66. See also Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, p. 313.

40. *Visiter*, 24 August 1844; *Sun*, 14 September 1844. For the Washingtonians' withdrawal from the convention, see *Sun*, 14 August 1843; for Mitchell's resignation, see *Sun*, 9 April 1845.

41. *An Address of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore to their Brethren Throughout the United States Setting Forth The Principles Upon Which the Temperance Reformation Was Based* (Baltimore: Richard J. Matchett, 1844), p. 4; *Visiter*, 15 June 1844; *Eleventh Annual Report of the MSTS*, pp. 6–7.

42. See Hampel, *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts*, esp. pp. 115–28.

43. "Proceedings of the New York Division, Sons of Temperance, 1842," *Journal of the Proceedings of the National Division*, 1 (1844–1849), pp. 10–11, quoted in Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*, p. 47. For interpretations of the Washingtonians' demise stressing their lack of organization, "backsliding," and experience-meeting monotony, see Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder*, pp. 41–42; Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 207–8; Maxwell, "The Washingtonian Movement," pp. 437–43; Walters, *American Reformers*, pp. 132–33; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, pp. 345–46. On the rise of the

Sons of Temperance, see Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder*, pp. 42–62; Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, pp. 208–14; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 211–18.

44. Alcoholics Anonymous founder William Griffith Wilson ("Bill W.") studied the Washingtonians extensively, discussed them in his writings, and sought to avoid what he viewed as their fatal shortcomings—particularly their "overdone self-advertising" and "exhibitionism." The *A.A. Grapevine* carried twelve different articles about the Washingtonians between 1945 and 1976. See Ernest Kurtz, *Not God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous* (Center City, Minn.: Hazelden Educational Materials, 1979), pp. 116–17 and 291. The literature on Alcoholics Anonymous is enormous. I have relied primarily on Kurtz, *Not God*, and Carl E. Thune, "Alcoholism and the Archetypal Past," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 38 (1977): 75–88.

45. Hawkins, *Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, pp. 67–68; *Eleventh Annual Report of the MSTS*, p. 26; *Sun*, 18 December 1843; Zug, *Foundation, Progress, and Principles*, p. 53; *Sun*, 5 May 1842. See also Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 171–72.

46. Kurtz, *Not God*, p. 182.

47. *Visiter*, 18 June 1842; Paul Meyer, "The Transformation of American Temperance: The Popularization and Radicalization of a Reform Movement, 1813–1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1976), pp. 129–31. See also Bruce Laurie, "'Nothing on Compulsion': Lifestyles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820–1850," *Labor History*, 15 (1974), 337–66.

48. *Address of the Washington Temperance Society*, p. 9.

49. Kurtz, *Not God*, p. 248.

50. Erving Goffmann has shown how attempts to correct "spoiled identity" often result not in the desired normal status, but in a "transformation of self" from somebody who has a certain stigma to somebody with a record of having it. Besides underscoring the general taint on drunkenness, then, the Washingtonians' insistence on their own "reclamation" from it actually sustained a blemish upon themselves—as people who formerly had that blemish. See Goffmann, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 9.

51. *Sun*, 23 September 1841; *Visiter*, 11 March 1843.

52. *Sun*, 9 February 1843 and 22 March 1844; ibid., 21 October 1843; ibid., 22 February 1843; ibid., 16 October 1844; ibid., 3 March 1843. For the era's "operational aesthetic," see Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1973). See also Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, pp. 176–79, and Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, pp. 309–10.

53. The society, Jellinek wrote, "was not equipped with an ideology distinctive enough to prevent its dissolution." Quoted in Maxwell, "Washingtonian Movement," p. 443.

54. *Visiter*, 18 June 1842.

55. *Sun*, 6 April 1843.

56. *Visiter*, 10 August 1844.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

"We shall be accountable to God": Some Inquiries into the Position of Blacks in Somerset Parish, Maryland, 1692–1865

MARY O. KLEIN

As rector of Somerset Parish, Rev. Alexander Adams wrestled with the moral question of the salvation and Christianization of slaves. With so few Anglican clergy on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the Reverend Mr. Adams served one parish then another in Somerset County during his long ministry. In 1724 he had been a "Missionary to the Plantations" for twenty years. Among the problems facing him were inadequate pay, poor housing, a parish fifty miles long, four-hundred families scattered along those fifty miles, difficulty in buying wine for Communion, and no altar on which to prepare the sacrament. Mr. Adams had responded to the call for missionaries in 1704, only three years after it was issued by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Formed in 1701 to encourage missionary work in the British colonies and promote the conversion of the natives, the SPG sent a questionnaire to its missionaries in 1724. One of the questions was, "Are there any Infidels, bond or free, in your Parish and what means are used for their conversion?" To this Adams replied, "There are Indians & Negro slaves. Some Negroes are baptized after instruction in the Church Catechism & frequent the public worship. No means used to convert the Indians; their language unknown to us."[1]

Since establishment of the Church of England in Maryland in 1692, the tax-supported clergy had struggled to organize broad expanses earlier cultivated by itinerant Methodist preachers and the Society of Friends. A huge piece of land originally stretching from Maryland's border with Virginia north to Delaware, Somerset County embraced four parishes—Somerset, Coventry, Stepney, and Snow Hill. A June 1694 report to the governor noted that although there were four parishes laid out, there was "never a church." By 1724, however, a building

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had been raised in each parish. Adams's job of attending to the needs of Anglicans and converting the infidels was hampered by geography, cold, heat, mosquitoes and apathy all around. The bishop of London, who had oversight of the pioneer churches, was constrained by political pressures from sending anyone to lead or organize these ventures, and slave owners were either unconcerned about the conversion of their slaves to Christianity or afraid they would be freed if baptized.[2]

Although the Anglican church was among the first in the colonies to work toward slaves' conversion to Christianity, the question of whether baptism brought slave freedom was not clear in the minds of either clergy or slaveowners. A 1664 Maryland law stated that baptism had no effect on the status of a slave, and in 1727 the bishop of London instructed his missionaries accordingly.

> Christianity and the embracing of the Gospel does not make the least alteration in Civil Property. . . . The freedom which Christianity gives is a freedom from the Bondage of sin and Satan. . . . But as to their outward Condition, whatever it was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized and becoming Christians makes no manner of Change in it.[3]

Families were responsible for the education of their own children and slaves alike and were encouraged to fulfill their duty to teach them, but slave owners were slow to bring their slaves for baptismal instruction. In 1730 the bishop of London did send a visitor to the clergy on the Eastern Shore, the Reverend John Lang, to encourage, admonish, and examine credentials. In a speech at the opening of the clerical conference on 24 June, Lang chastised the attendants for neglecting "the Instruction of the Negroes." "It cannot be denied that they are part of our cure, & that we shall be accountable to God for the discharge of our duty to them." Although he did not expect the clergy to become schoolmasters to them, he did

> seriously & passionately exhort Masters & Mistresses to teach and instruct them or procure others to do it for them. . . . Their own salvation depends upon the faithful discharge of it. . . . I cannot give myself leave that any Master or Mistress will be so barbarous as not to engage in this laudable design.[4]

Adjoining Adams's parish in Somerset County was Coventry Parish, served by Rev. James Robertson, who worked there from 1718 until his death in 1748. In his answer to the SPG inquiry concerning infidels in his parish he replied, "There are Indians whose Language we dont understand & there are negro slaves whereof some come to Church & are baptized & others who neither by their own consent nor their masters are willing to be baptized." This answer indicated that not only did some masters keep their slaves from baptism, but that some slaves refused to be baptized. Both Adams and Robertson seemed matter-of-fact about slaves joining their masters at public worship, being instructed in the Christian faith, and receiving the sacrament of baptism. There did not seem to be any idea of keeping blacks from worshipping with the rest of the congregation. It is difficult to know if the slaves who chose baptism believed the teachings or were forced into Chris-

tianity by their masters. Robertson's observation hints that adult slave baptisms were voluntary. In a series of sermons in 1750, another Maryland clergyman, Thomas Bacon, expressed concern over the Christian slaves' redemption. "These baptized slaves were often living in as profound Ignorance of what Christianity really is, (except as to a few outward Ordinances)" he said, "as if they had remained in the midst of those barbarous Heathen Countries from whence their parents had first been imported." At least some people, therefore, thought that even the slaves who had been baptized still clung to African religion.[5]

The church required all births to be noted in the parish registry within two months, but baptisms rarely appeared along with births. Parish registers became a legal tool to keep track of births, deaths, marriages, and the names of those who had paid their taxes for the upkeep of the church and clergy. (When blacks appeared in the church records, they were identified "free negro," "slave," "mulatto," "servant," or "colored.") In 1703–1705 the records for Somerset Parish listed the births of three slaves owned by the Denwood family. In January 1703 Frost, and in April 1704 Bess, were born and belonged to Arthur Denwood. In 1705 Domway, belonging to Levin Denwood, was born. Baptism was not mentioned alongside the names of anyone born during that time. After 1817 the parish listed baptisms along with births. The rector at that time was the Reverend William Wickes. Perhaps he was a better record-keeper than his predecessors, and perhaps he encouraged baptism among blacks, because in 1817 and 1818 alone Wickes registered seven baptisms of slave children and four baptisms of free blacks. The records give us each child's name along with birth and baptism dates; the parents' names were noted, but not the names of the owners. In a typical slave baptism entry, "Susan, daughter of slaves Job and Tilla was born December 10, 1818, and baptised June 1818." Entries for free blacks list surnames: "John Henry son of Simo and Rose Ballard—negroes—was born September 17, 1818, baptised same time." In 1822 the rector wrote a heading on one of the registry pages, "Baptisms by the Rev'd. Joseph Covell," but listed only births, raising questions about earlier birth entries. Were baptisms administered at the same time as births, as in previous entries? It is impossible to say. One entry is particularly interesting: "Sarah Ann, daughter of Slaves Abraham and Sarah his wife was born October 10. 1822." Here was the first entry showing the slave parents being married (entries for whites read "Anne Ayers, daughter of Henry Hyland and Harriet his wife . . ."). Abraham and Sarah's sons were noted under "births" in 1824 and 1826.[6]

Were Somerset Parish's neighboring Anglicans also baptizing slaves and free blacks in this period? Unfortunately, in 1834 Snow Hill's early records were lost in a fire. Coventry Parish's hand-made book of leather-covered wood contained only one entry for blacks. "Betty—at George Bosman's, a mulatto, born September 10, 1724." Between 1737 and 1763 Stepney Parish (at Green Hill Church) listed the births of only a few mulattos. A woman listed as "the Mulatto Sue, alias Sue Magee or Games," gave birth to five children between 1741 and 1754. "The Mulatto Rose, or Rose Game, alias Magee," mothered two children, born in 1737 and 1751. "Mary Dutton (mulattoe)" had two children, one in 1759 and the other

in 1762. No other births of free blacks or slaves were listed. Undoubtedly record-keeping was careless, but Somerset Parish seems to have been unique in the county when it came to the baptism of slaves and free blacks.[7]

Even if slaves were being baptized, one wonders if whites welcomed them into the life of the parish. Slaves did attend worship services; St. Andrew's Church of Somerset Parish in Princess Anne still retains the original slave gallery built in 1770, when the church was erected. During the colonial period, there being no American bishops in the church and none sent from England to ordain clergy or confirm lay people, to be listed as a "communicant in good standing" meant that one had been baptized and prepared for confirmation but not yet confirmed. Were blacks so listed? In 1790, before he became the first bishop consecrated on American soil, Rev. Thomas J. Claggett was rector of St. James' Church, Herring Creek, near Baltimore. On Easter Sunday Claggett drew up a list of communicants of the parish. "There are 48 whites and 13 negroes, total 61," he wrote. "The list of 'Black brethren communicants' include two servants of Mr. Claggett." The following year black members of the parish asked for a piece of ground to use as a cemetery. The vestry gave it to them, provided they fenced it in themselves. At St. James' it seems that the blacks were incorporated into the life of the church and seen as full members in good standing, even if they could not be buried in a churchyard reserved for whites.[8]

Bishop Claggett confirmed more than two thousand people in his first year of episcopate and made his first visit to Somerset Parish in 1795, when he confirmed seventy people. There was no indication that any of them were black. An 1805 entry listed 131 Somerset Parish church members—"those persons who have subscribed to the canons of the P. [Protestant] E. [Episcopal] Church." On the preceding page appear the names of 29 slaves and 2 free women. All were listed by first name only, in one column, followed by "property of" and their owner's name in the adjacent column. In the owner column, "free" is written beside the names "Nanny" and "Tabby." "Communicants" is written at the bottom of the page. One must assume that everyone listed as a communicant had been baptized and was at least a teenager, if not an adult, since children did not receive communion until "the age of discretion," when they could be prepared for confirmation. An earlier list of Somerset Parish communicants in 1796 listed no blacks at all. The rector must have been a determining factor in drawing up the list. It was, and is, the custom of the Episcopal church to receive the communion wine from a common chalice. Are we to assume that blacks and whites, slave and master, drank from the same cup?[9]

There are many gaps in the Somerset Parish records, sometimes due to clerical vacancies in the parish and sometimes due to the rector's complete avoidance of bookkeeping. From about 1825 to 1845 no blacks appear in the register as having been baptized. In 1844, when Rev. Harvey Stanley assumed the rectorship, the registers again were kept current and the baptism of many blacks recorded. Stanley did not list the names of slave parents; he noted instead the names of their owners. The birth date and baptism date were given along with the names of the

godparents or sponsors. Usually the owners were named as sponsors, and sometimes the parents or mother of the slave child were as well. The sponsor at an infant baptism had to have been baptized; he or she assumed responsibility for seeing that the child was raised in the Christian faith. We may assume then, that the rector considered slave parents practicing Christians when he allowed them to be godparents along with their owners. Did these baptism take place in the church or at the home of the slaveholder? In some cases "private" was noted in the register, and those probably took place in homes. But most entries have no such notation. Did the vast majority take place in church?[10]

On 1 January 1846 Dr. Henry Hyland's infant daughter Anne Ayers Hyland was baptized at St. Andrew's Church, Princess Anne, Somerset Parish, along with six slaves, aged sixteen years to fifteen months. Mrs. John Smith was Anne's godparent, and Dr. Hyland served as sponsor for his slaves. In 1849 Dr. Hyland's brother, Rev. William Hyland, must have been visiting Somerset Parish because he administered baptisms and performed two marriages. On 3 September 1849 the Reverend Mr. Hyland married "Littleton Henry Maddox and Henrietta Susan Steward, along with Zaddok Maddox and Jane Jones. The parties were all colored." We may assume they were all free blacks because surnames were given for everyone. In 1850 and 1860 separate entries in the federal census listed slaves and free persons, and the 1850 count for free persons showed that Dr. Hyland's household consisted of himself (aged 63), his wife Harriet (aged 47), nine children and Littleton Maddox, aged 30, a black oysterman, presumably the same person referred to in the marriage record. The slave census showed that Dr. Hyland owned seven female and nine male slaves. Somerset Parish records show that in 1849 "his woman Anne" brought two daughters for baptism and "his man Henry's son" was baptized by Dr. Hyland's brother. The only other baptism involving blacks associated with Dr. Hyland was Henrietta and Littleton Maddox's son James. The parents and Dr. Hyland acted as sponsors. Dr. Hyland owned three slave women of childbearing age in 1850, yet only one, Anne, had her children baptized. The male slaves who were old enough to be fathers added up to four, yet only one chose baptism for his son.[11]

The evidence suggests that in Dr. Hyland's case, at least, slaves were not forced to accept their master's religious practices, but when they did, the master supported them in their choice. But what about other slave owners in Somerset Parish?

William Wilson Johnston, an active churchman at St. Andrew's Church in Princess Anne, Somerset Parish, was a prosperous farmer. For many years elected a vestry member, he left the parish $5,000 worth of City of Baltimore stock "for upkeep of the church" in his 1865 will. He owned eight female and eight male slaves in 1850 and, in 1860, twelve females and ten males. Eight church register entries mention W. W. Johnston and slaves. In 1846 two of this slaves were married to slaves owned by other people. Candace married Lyttleton, who belonged to Miss H. B. Hayman, and James married Sylvia, a servant of J.W. Crisfield. Candace's four-year-old daughter was baptized in 1859, her infant daughter in 1862. In 1848 "his man William's" fourteen-month-old son Stephen Cecil was baptized; three

years later Peggy's nine-year-old daughter Sally Jane also received that sacrament. Only one other slave, Ann, was mentioned as the mother of Daniel, who was baptized in 1858, the father being W. T. G. Polk's slave Isaac. Again, although Johnston owned six female slaves of child-bearing age in 1860, between 1858 and 1862 only three of the women had an interest in having their children baptized.[12]

In the years 1846–1857 the Reverend Joseph Nicholson was particularly active in baptizing and officiating at the marriages of slaves and free blacks. He owned slaves himself—a forty-five-year-old man, a thirty-year-old woman, seventeen- and seven-year-old girls, and a four-year-old boy. Nicholson baptized no fewer than sixty-nine slaves, both children and adults. He also officiated at the marriages of nine couples, some of whom were slave, some free, and some a combination of slave and free. It is interesting to note that "Levin Libby was married to Henny, a servant of Mrs. Ann W. Jones on Easter Day, March 31, 1850, in All Saints' Church, Monie" (the church at Monie belonged to Somerset Parish). "The Sunday after Easter, April 15, 1849, at the Evening service at All Saints', Monie, James Murray, a free colored man & Betty Ann Bounds, a free colored woman" were married. Quite a public display—the marriage of blacks in the church on Easter Sunday and the following Sunday in evening service![13]

Blacks were being baptized and married in the church, but confirmation records list no blacks at all. Confirmation meant full adult incorporation and involvement in the church. If blacks were not confirmed, they could not vote in vestry elections and most probably could not receive communion. Blacks were not listed in mid-nineteenth-century communicant lists either. One supposes that while the clergy were willing to incorporate blacks into Christianity by baptism and make a show of Christian marriage, they were not willing to take the step of offering blacks full adult participation in the church.[14]

The Right Reverend William R. Whittington, fourth bishop of the diocese of Maryland and bishop during the Somerset Parish rectorship of Joseph Nicholson, perhaps represented the view of the day. "The calumny of abolition must be carefully guarded against," he wrote Dr. John Scott, a catechist to a congregation of negroes on the Eastern Shore, in 1842.

> This can be best done by the most scrupulous adherence to religious instruction and intercourse with the negroes, and by bringing out fully . . . the bearing of faith on practice, the Gospel rule of Subordination in society, and the compatibility of spiritual privilege with temporal privation, and even oppression.

Whittington always addressed words of instruction to blacks in church and in private homes asked for the servants to be called for family prayer. Yet when the single black congregation in Baltimore petitioned the diocesan convention to be admitted as a parish, the bishop put the request aside. Later, when asked if the black man were not entitled to all the rights as a Christian, Whittington replied, "Doubtless; but I do not consider representation in Convention to be a Christian right."[15]

The position of blacks, slave and free, in the life of Somerset Parish seems to have gone from less to more constrained in the first six decades of the nineteenth century. If the clergy viewed blacks as their brothers in Christ, they were their younger step-brothers, needing protection and guidance and not quite measuring up to full fraternity.

Many of the clergy themselves were slaveholders. The communicants of Somerset Parish, of course, must have held widely differing opinions about slavery. Church members included slave owners and nonslaveholders. Some masters took special interest in certain slaves and acted as advocate and patron. At least one colonizationist, Littleton Upshur Dennis, held eighty-three slaves in 1823. His 1833 will instructed his brother John to buy his slave Joseph's wife Nancy and allow them to go to Liberia. He also wanted to give his slave Nelson all his personal clothing, twenty-five dollars, and permission to go to Liberia. Dennis made provisions for his slave Levin Miles, his wife Martha and their children to become citizens of Liberia if both of his own children died before age twenty-one and left no heirs.[16]

When one surveys the evidence, reads between the lines, and makes reasonable assumptions, it remains clear that between 1692 and 1865 blacks in Somerset Parish were not fully incorporated into the life of the church. Given the theological thinking of the day on the generally conservative Eastern Shore, perhaps it was impossible to do so. Paternalism could extend salvation to blacks, but not full brotherhood as Christians. Records are sketchy, inaccurate, missing, and misleading. What we can piece together resembles not a monochromatic blanket, but a complex, many-hued patchwork quilt of a fragment of life in Somerset Parish, Maryland.

NOTES

1. William Stevens Perry, ed., *Papers Related to the History of the Church in Maryland, A.D. 1694–1775* (Privately printed, 1878), pp. 211–12; John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England* (New York: Morehouse-Barlow Co., 1954), p. 267.

2. Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Church Historical Society, 1956), p. 25.

3. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 2:272; "Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London," quoted in W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro Church* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1903), p. 10.

4. Perry, *Papers*, pp. 288–92.

5. Coventry Parish Register, 1747–1835; Perry, *Papers*, p. 220; Thomas Bacon, *Four Sermons upon the Great and Indispensable Duty of All Christian Masters and Mistresses to Bring Up Their Negro Slaves in the Knowledge of God* (Winchester, Va.: Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, 1750), pp. v, vii.

6. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 1:373; Somerset Parish Records, 1696–1865.

7. Snow Hill Parish Records; Coventry Parish Register, 1747–1835; Stepney Parish Register, 1737–1763.

8. George B. Uttley, *The Life and Times of Thomas John Claggett, First Bishop of Maryland and the First Bishop Consecrated in America* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Son Co., 1913), pp. 65–66; Katherine Myrick DeProspo, *A History of Shrewsbury Parish Church* (Wye Mills, Md.: Chesapeake College Press, 1988), p. 102.

9. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, p. 132; Somerset Parish Records, pp. 210, 212, 216.

10. Somerset Parish Records.

11. Somerset Parish Records; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census, Maryland*, Somerset County Slave Census, 1850, and Somerset County Census for Free Persons, 1850.

12. Somerset Parish Vestry Records; Somerset County Wills, 1865; Somerset Parish Register; *Seventh Census*, Somerset County Slave Census, 1850 and 1860, and Somerset County Census of Free Persons, 1860.

13. *Seventh Census*, Somerset County Slave Census, 1850; Somerset Parish Records.

14. Somerset Parish Records.

15. William Francis Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittington, Fourth Bishop of Maryland* (2 vols; London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1883), pp. 264, 262, 265.

16. Somerset County Rent Rolls, 1823; Somerset County Wills, 1833, f. 215–219, Maryland State Archives.

Piscataway Tavern: A Maryland Legacy

JOHN H. CLAGETT IV

Piscataway, a small hamlet of a dozen or so houses, lies on Floral Park Road on the south side of Piscataway Creek in lower Prince George's County. The several structures that make up the town are subtle reminders of its past. Among them is a building traditionally referred to as Piscataway Tavern or Clagett's Tavern. It was one of numerous stores built in the mid-eighteenth century, when Maryland's tobacco-based economy boomed.

The tavern consists of a tall two-and-one-half story section connected to an older one-and-one-half story part, each with an exterior brick chimney. Four gabled dormers, two on the front and two on the back, extend from the roof of the taller section. A sloping-roofed shed adjoins the backside of the main structure, and there is a somewhat irregular arrangement of windows, as well as a door, on this side of the tavern.

The most significant features of the tavern's interior are the two Federal-style fireplaces on the first and second stories of the main section and a staircase that reveals Federal elements in its rail. Important also are the old doorknob latch systems and the hand-hewn wood floor joists in the shorter section of the building. When former residents raised the floor to observe the joists, they found fragments of clay pipes in the sandy soil directly beneath them, revealing the structure's eighteenth-century store function.[1]

Having undergone various alterations, the tavern has stood in the town of Piscataway for over two centuries. The Historical American Buildings Survey dated the shorter section to around 1750. The tavern's history, however, is somewhat older. As early as 1707, the Maryland General Assembly designated sixty acres of land south of Piscataway Creek for a town to serve as an official port. Development was slow, however; not until 1735 did the assembly acquire the sixty acres from their original owners.[2]

Piscataway's prosperity as a port town began in 1747, when the Tobacco Inspection Act made it an official inspection point for tobacco and established a warehouse for this purpose. Piscataway then enjoyed rapid and expansive growth, as did other tobacco-export towns of Maryland in this period. Merchant firms established storehouses at these places and bought tobacco from local planters in exchange for merchandise imported from England. Thomas Clagett owned one of these firms.

Mr. Clagett, an alumnus of the University of Maryland at College Park, works as an archives technician at the Washington National Records Center.

Clagett and Company Warehouses conducted business out of Piscataway Tavern for most of the second half of the eighteenth century.[3]

When mariners reached Piscataway Creek, its shallowness required them to anchor their vessels at its mouth and send scows upstream to the town to deliver and receive merchandise. Hence the narrow upper portion of the creek, extending to the town, became known locally as "Long Boat Channel." Waterborne trade posed many difficulties. In a letter to Baltimore merchant Jonathan Hudson, Clagett stated that he had not received the shipment of three hundred bushels of salt due him "until a day or two ago, owing to the sloop [carrying the merchandise] having proved so leakey on her passage that the skipper was forced to put [her] into a harbor on the Eastern Shore, where he landed his cargo."[4]

Clagett exported primarily tobacco and imported such goods as snuff, men's and boys' felt hats, gloves, large basket buttons, white thread silk stockings, white chapell needles, silk bonnets, men's and women's shoes, garnet necklaces, as well as rum, wine, playing cards, penknives, chamber pots, spoons, forks, china plates, and cups. His store, as well as others of this kind, provided goods that were not then practicably made in the colonies.[5] Clagett's store also provided a place for gossip. People from the neighboring farms, purchasing goods, would congregate and discuss the latest news of the day.

Clagett's store played an important role in provisioning troops during the American Revolution, when Thomas and his brother William served as army purchasing agents. Correspondence between William Clagett and Gov. Thomas Sim Lee provide evidence of the store's provisioning activity in this period. On 13 June 1781 Clagett wrote, "These are all the goods which comes within your instructions in the county except a few linens and Felt Hatts which my Brother Thomas Clagett & Co. has, and which he informed me, that he intended to offer to you . . . ." Among other supplies provided by Thomas Clagett & Company was "english bearskin," used to make blankets and coats. Duffle, powder, and musket balls were among the other provisions. In July 1780 Lt. Josias Beall indicated in a letter to Governor Lee that Clagett's store had 42 pounds of powder and 829 pounds of musket balls for the Continental Army.[6] During the Revolutionary War the state council required merchant firms such as Clagett & Co. to provision the troops at an agreeable price. If, however, a suitable price could not be negotiated, the goods could be seized by the council.

In the years following the Revolution, the tobacco trade suffered a setback. Scottish tobacco lords reinvested their capital in the British West Indies or in local manufacturing enterprises. Commercial activity at tobacco inspection points moved to more urbanized commercial centers like Baltimore, Georgetown, and Alexandria.[7]

There is evidence, however, that Clagett's firm continued to grow, having apparently benefited from its wartime activity. By 1785 it was purchasing wares, just as it had done with Scottish companies before the war, from Wallace, Johnson & Muir of Annapolis. Clagett's company—now referred to as Thomas, William and Horatio Clagett & Company—cooperated with the Annapolis firm but also

Piscataway Main Street, 1910. A store and tavern still operated in the old Piscataway Tavern in the early years of the century. Local residents held political meetings in the small shed attached the older, one-and-one-half story section that dated from about 1750. (Maryland State Archives, Robert G. Merrick Archives, MdHR G 1477-5665.)

acted as one of its two major competitors. It was a phenomenal occurrence in the late 1780s for American merchants to establish offices in Britain. As did Wallace, Johnson & Muir, Thomas Clagett by 1787 owned a house in London. Clagett's brother Horatio managed affairs in London, importing tobacco from Piscataway and exporting goods to the United States. Among those who conducted business with Thomas Clagett & Company after the war were George Washington and Daniel Carroll.[8]

The firm continued to operate out of Piscataway and London in the 1790s even as the partnership underwent some changes. In 1792 Thomas Clagett died, leaving Judson Magruder Clagett—his eldest son—in charge of the Piscataway branch. William Pratt, who had been a partner in the firm, played a greater role in the management of the London branch of the company, which by 1798 was renamed Clagett & Pratt. A letter sent in August 1798 from Clagett & Pratt of London to Alexander Hamilton of Piscataway gave details of the business relationship between the London and Piscataway houses in this period. In the letter Clagett & Pratt asked Hamilton to act as its representative to settle accounts against the estate of Thomas Clagett, who had died intestate. The letter revealed various business discrepancies between the two houses which Hamilton was to iron out with Judson

Magruder Clagett. In addition, it indicated that the partnership of Thomas Clagett & Company dissolved sometime in the late 1790s, stating that the "French War . . . broke out before the dissolution of the partnership" and that "our new firm," Clagett & Pratt, took over "the whole of the underwriting concern." Little is known about Horatio Clagett's involvement in the firm during this period, other than what is revealed in his 1815 obituary in the Washington *National Intelligencer*, which stated that "for nearly the entire time since the Peace of 1786 . . . [he was] a merchant and underwriter in London." The merchant activity of the Piscataway branch of Thomas Clagett & Company probably did not continue after the death of Judson Magruder Clagett in 1800.[9]

Thereafter the store changed hands rapidly. In 1806 Thomas Duckett, appointed by the state chancery court to sell Thomas Clagett 's estate, transferred the lot and store to Clagett's younger brother Nathaniel for $1,400. When this transaction took place the structure was "deteriorating."[10] In 1809 Nathaniel willed the structure to a "mulatto girl," Fanny, who he believed to be his daughter. She modified the tavern by replacing a kitchen and dwelling house with the eastern two-and-one-half story section of the present frame structure. Fanny's son, Nathaniel C. Odin, sold the tavern in 1841 to Piscataway merchant John W. Ward.[11]

Ward operated a store in Piscataway tavern in the 1840s and 1850s, when the town continued to be a commercial center. But the prosperity that marked the second half of the eighteenth century had passed: Piscataway did not grow like Frederick or Hagerstown. It remained a small village, which by 1828 had only twenty-four owners of property. Contributing to the decline of the town was the silting in of Piscataway Creek. In 1836 John W. Ward was one of twenty-seven area citizens to petition the Prince George's County Levy Court to build a road to "some navigable point on Piscataway Creek." The petitioners complained that "for the last three or four years it appeared to be almost impossible for boats to pass up and down [the creek] . . . unless the tide [was] . . . very high." The county left it to the state of Maryland to take action on the matter. The state had engineer and geologist John Henry Alexander survey the creek and with his findings determined in 1841 to make Farmington—3.5 miles downstream—a public wharf.[12] Ward bought Piscataway Tavern the same year, likely thinking that the new landing would enhance his merchant business.

Farmington Wharf, however, drew commerce away from Piscataway. Adding to the town's problems was Maryland's sale of the tobacco inspection warehouse in 1858. Baltimore became Maryland's tobacco inspection center, replacing Piscataway and other inspection towns. Piscataway also never gained access to the railroad system that had been responsible for the growth of other Maryland towns in the nineteenth century.[13]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Piscataway Tavern, then Cornelius F. Miller's store, attracted primarily local inhabitants who purchased goods there out of convenience. Miller received wares more circuitously than did his eighteenth-century counterparts. A twenty-three-ton flat-bottomed steamboat, the *Harry Loder*, piloted by Capt. James Quentin, delivered goods to Farmington

Piscataway Tavern, 1988. Shorn of its dormer windows and graceful roofline, partially covered in tar paper, the old tavern stands perilously close to the pavement in this recent photograph by the author.

Landing, from which teams transported merchandise to Miller's store. This routine continued as late as the 1920s, when further siltation of the creek, the development of better roads, and the use of automobiles rendered the landing obsolete.[14]

The Boswell family operated a tavern and store in Piscataway Tavern in the early twentieth century. Political meetings were held in a small shed addition, which is no longer standing, at the east end of the structure. The Boswells owned the building until 1972, when John A. Boswell gave it to Milton and Catherine Clagett Chapman under the stipulation made by the grantor's brother, George C. Boswell, that it would next be deeded to "my little friend Cathy Clagett."[15]

The tavern stands amidst the changes of time as it has done for over two hundred years. The dirt road that ran in front of it is now well paved and somewhat wider than its gravel-covered predecessor, which poses a threat to the tavern situated immediately at the road's edge. What had been cleared land behind Piscataway Tavern and the buildings adjacent to it, on the north side of Floral Park Road, is now covered with undergrowth and trees. This land once was the site of bustling warehouses, crop-filled barns, grinding mills, ancestral homes, and a one-room school.[16] Over two hundred years of existence, Piscataway Tavern has played a part in Maryland's history as a store and a residence, enduring and adapting to change.

NOTES

1. Author's interview with Camillus Clagett, Piscataway, Maryland, 26 April 1988.

2. Piscataway Tavern, 1936, MD 17-Pisc., Historical American Buildings Survey (HABS) Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress; Susan G. Pearl, Piscataway Tavern, Maryland Historical Trust Historical Sites Survey Form No. 84–3 (Prince George's Historical and Cultural Trust, March 1981); Catherine A. Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway in Maryland* (Accokeek, Md.: Alice Ferguson Foundation, 1962), pp. 38–39; William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1907–), 27: 159–68.

3. Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway*, p. 40; Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., "Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 146.

4. Early residents of the Piscataway area, including John H. Clagett, Sr. (1870–1970), referred to the upper portion of Piscataway Creek as "Long Boat Channel." See also Thomas Clagett to Jonathan Hudson, 19 April 1780, Ms. 55644, MdHS.

5. Ledgers for Thomas Clagett & Company, 1767, 1769–1770, 1774–1776, and 1784, microfilm reels 9, 13, 17, and 18, Glassford Papers, Library of Congress.

6. *Archives of Maryland*, 47: 57, 287–88, 304–5; ibid., 45: 4.

7. MacMaster and Skaggs eds., "Letters of Alexander Hamilton," *MdHM*, 63 (1968): 23.

8. Joshua Johnson Letterbook, 1785–1788, series 8D, item 77, pp. 37, 216, 231, 292, Peter Force Papers, Library of Congress; Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 180, 207; Thomas Clagett & Company to George Washington, 10 February 1787, microfilm reel no. 96, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress; Effie Gwynn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1947), pp. 126-27; Allen C. Clark, "Daniel Carroll of Duddington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington*, 39 (1938): 6.

9. Clagett & Pratt to Alexander Hamilton, 6 August 1798, Ms. 48579, MdHS; See also Thomas Clagett Senior's Account with Thos. Clagett & Co., August Term 1792, Register of Wills, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro; Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 126–27; List of Seperate Debts due from Sundrys on Judson M. Clagett's Store Books in Piscataway, ST 4 179, Inventories, Prince George's County Court Records.

10. Chain of title for "Piscataway Tavern," P.G. #84–3, Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

11. Ibid.; Piscataway Tavern, MD 17-Pisc., HABS.

12. Chain of title for Piscataway Tavern, MNCPPC; Shirley Langdon Wilcox, ed., *1828 Tax List Prince George's County Maryland* (n.p.: George's County Genealogical

Society, 1985), p. 67; Prince George's County Levy Court (Road Papers), 20 April 1836, pp. 1–2, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis; John Henry Alexander, *Report of the Engineer & Geologist, In Relation to the New Map to the Executive of Maryland* (Annapolis: William M' Neir, 1836), pp. 9–16; *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: William M' Neir, 1841), Chap. 143.

13. *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: Thomas J. Wilson, 1858), Chap. 69; Simon J. Martenet, *Martenet's Map of Prince George's County Maryland* (1861; reprt., Riverdale, Md.: Prince George's County Historical Society, 1967).

14. *Houchens v. Miller*, no. 1295 1883, Equity, Prince George's County Court Records, Upper Marlboro; Children of Catherine Warren's Class 1957, 1958, and 1959, *A Child's History of Accokeek* (Accokeek, Md.: Accokeek Elementary School, 1959), p. 24; U.S. Congress, 51st Cong., 2d sess. (1890), House Exec. Doc. no. 49, *Letter from the Assistant Secretary of the War, Transmitting a Copy of the Report of the Preliminary Examination of Piscataway Creek Maryland*, 2.

15. Chain of title for Piscataway Tavern, MNCPPC.

16. *Martenet's Map of Prince George's County Maryland*, 1861; G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington including the County of Prince George Maryland* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins, 1878); Piscataway Tavern, MD 17-Pisc. 1–1, HABS.

Provisions for the Federal Hill Feast

BETTY BANDEL

Anyone who has delved into one, two, or twenty of the over two million manuscripts that are safely cradled in the Maryland Historical Society's library knows that unexpected riches can appear in unlikely places. This toiler in the genealogical vineyards several years ago found in the O'Ferrall Family Papers (Ms. 1575) a paper dated 1 May 1788 and carrying the title "Federal Expenses." Such a title, unrelated to anything else in the folder, invited investigation. The paper, it seems, could well have been added to the account of festivities surrounding Maryland's ratification of the U. S. Constitution in 1788 which appeared in the spring 1988 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.[1]

The manuscript paper fills in the important point of what food was provided for the feast that crowned the 1 May celebration in Baltimore—and how much the food cost. William Evans is presenting his bill for various items, and in the end William Goddard approves, allowing Evans two hundred pounds "for his troubles" (thirty-eight pounds) and for the supplies.

Here are some of the supplies that went into the feast:

560 pounds of bacon hams at 7 1/2 pence each, amounting to 17.10.0
1025 pounds of beef—25.12.6.
770 lbs bread and 800 loaves—14.10.0.
199 lbs cheese—8.5.10.
Provisions for the Artillery Co.—0.7.6.
15 lbs butter—0.18.9.
veneson hams—1.2.6.
fish—0.12.0.
36 bottles mustard—2.5.0.
240 gal. cyder—10.0.0.
Carting provisions to Federal Hill—1.10.0.
Beer, grog, and toddy—3.0.0.
Beer for the committee—2.6.8.
9 1/2 gal. peach brandy—3.1.9.
7 1/2 barrels beer—16.17.6.
Waiting and attending at tables—5.5.0.
8 barrels beer—19.0.0.

Professor Bandel has retired from the English department, University of Vermont.

The Story of Lee's Spurs

[Editor's note: Mr. E. Mason Hendrickson, retired president of the Maryland Historical Society, brings to our attention the following newspaper piece, which must have appeared in the *Washington Post* late in the nineteenth century. The principals in the story, William Joshua and Martha Ann Maddox, were his wife's great-grandparents. The Virginia Lee Cartwright mentioned in the last paragraph of the article was Mrs. Virginia Hendrickson's grandmother, who married William Preston Lane, Sr., of Hagerstown. Their son, Mrs. Hendrickson's father, served as Maryland governor between 1947 and 1951.]

Story of Lee's Spurs
As Retold by a Resident of Lower Maryland.
Baltimore Ladies Bought Them.

Mrs. Cartwright, Wife of the Maryland Planter Mentioned in the Original Story, Saved the Spurs from Falling Into the Hands of the Federals—Capts. Caywood and Sims Narrowly Escaped Capture and Probably Punishment as Spies.

Charlotte Hall., Md., April 15.—The article in last Sunday's Post regarding the $450 pair of gold spurs for Gen. Lee, contributed in 1863 by his admirers in lower Maryland, was read here with a great deal of interest, and especially as the characters in the story were so well known by the older settlers and their memories are cherished by hosts of friends and relatives. The writer of the article, however, not only omitted many vital incidents and wrongfully portrayed the character of an esteemed citizen of this county, but he robbed the ladies of Baltimore, who raised most of the money for the spurs, of the credit for the act and gave credit to a citizen of Prince George's County, whose connection with the affair was only in a minor way. At the same time, the writer omitted to tell how the hostess of Capt. Caywood saved the spurs from falling into the hands of the Federals by secreting them in the bosom of her dress and thus enabled the Captain later on to carry out his mission of delivering them to Gen. Lee. The writer speaks of an eccentric farmer named Cartwright, who was too old to go to war, &c. Now for the facts.

William Joshua Cartwright was the correct name of the alleged eccentric farmer. He was a wealthy planter and his estate on the Patuxent River was known from one end of the State to the other. During the decade prior to the civil war Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright entertained at their picturesque home many of the leading men of the State, including Gov. Thomas and others. William Joshua Cartwright could trace his family tree back to the main body in England—the body from which the

branch now represented by Sir Richard Cartwright of Canada, sprang. Mr. Cartwright's ancestors came to Maryland from England early in the eighteenth century and settled in Southern Maryland. His father, Richard Musgrove Cartwright, owned a large estate on the Patuxent River, not far from where the river flows into Chesapeake Bay, and resided there when the British landed near by and marched north to devastate Baltimore and Washington during the war of 1812. Here in St. Mary's County, William Joshua Cartwright was born in 1817. He was, therefore, but forty-six years of age when the spur incident occurred—not too old to go to war if he had desired to do so. Except while away from home attending college, Mr. Cartwright lived in lower Maryland with his father and mother. Some time in the fifties his bachelor heart was captured by Martha A. Maddox, the talented daughter of Mr. Samuel Maddox, who resided near Leonardtown. Miss Maddox was educated in a young ladies' seminary at Burlington, N.J., and made her debut in society under the chaperonage of Mrs. Thomas, the wife of the Governor of Maryland.

In anticipation of his marriage Mr. Cartwright purchased a handsome and picturesque estate on the Patuxent, not far from the one owned by his father, which had been in the family for generations. The residence was of the old-fashioned kind, with wide porches, large fireplaces and chimneys, and the rooms were commodious with high ceilings. It was located on a slight ridge about 100 yards from the river, and in front a row of stately Lombardy poplar trees added to the beauty of the place and the comfort of the occupants. The barn, grainary and quarters for the slaves were in the rear of the house, but in view of the river, and their whitewashed appearance added to the picturesqueness of the place, with its background of green trees and waving fields of grain. There Mr. Cartwright resided during the horrors of the civil war, when "Maryland, My Maryland," was often the scene of combat and brother strove against brother. Mr. Cartwright was a slave owner and his bride also owned slaves.

Hospitable to Both Sides.

When the war broke out Mr. Cartwright, as a slave owner, naturally sympathized with the South in the struggle but wisely decided that his wife and little children needed his protecting care more than the South did his services. He therefore declined to take any part in the struggle, but remaining on his plantation, entertained all who called, whether they were supporters of the lost cause or wearers of the blue. He was one of the most hospitable of men, and no one was ever turned empty handed away from his door. All were welcomed and entertained—strangers nearly as often as old-time friends and acquaintances. It was not an unusual incident in those days for Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright to entertain Confederate soldiers at one meal and Union officers at the next. Mrs. Cartwright was a charming hostess, and as one of her brothers, Capt. Elkanah Maddox, was in the Union army, she was always certain of protection whenever any Union troops were in that neighborhood.

Capt. Charles Caywood, of Charles County, was an old acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright, and on his perilous trips to and from the Confederate lines he often called upon his friends on the Patuxent, and it was their friendship that not only saved him from capture in 1863, which would have resulted in his death by hanging as a spy, but prevented the gold spurs from falling into the possession of the Union troops. When Capt. Caywood started that fall to return to the Confederate lines, bearing with him the gold spurs, his path carried him to the Cartwright plantation. He was accompanied by Capt. Sims, Amos Fauquier, and another man whose name has been forgotten, and in addition to the gold spurs they had a splendid new musket which Prince George's County friends had purchased for Capt. Dement, of the Confederate Army and had sent it to him for use against the Federals. The party under the lead of Capt. Caywood successfully dodged the parties of Federals en route, and reached the Cartwright mansion at dusk on a Saturday night, where they were warmly welcomed.

It was the intention of Capt. Caywood and Capt. Sims to proceed on their journey that night after partaking of dinner, but a violent storm set in, and they were compelled to remain until the following day. Realizing that if the Federal should capture him with the gold spurs on his person he would be condemned and hung as a spy, as the engraving on the spurs would furnish the corroborative evidence, Capt. Caywood called his host to one side and showed him the spurs. He also told Mr. Cartwright that the spurs were the gift of the ladies of Baltimore to the Confederate head, and Commander-in-chief, and that he had given his word to deliver them to Gen. Lee in person. He therefore asked his host to put them away in a safe place for the night. Calling Mrs. Cartwright her husband told her the story of the spurs and confided them to her keeping. Both her husband and Capt. Caywood stated emphatically that they were the gift of the ladies of Baltimore. Mrs. Cartwright took the spurs to her room and hid them in her wardrobe, and the new musket was placed in a corner by the fireplace. After a hearty dinner and a pleasant evening, Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright and their guests retired for the night. As they slept, however, one of the slaves from the estate was en route for the nearest Federal post to betray his owner and the guests at the house. Capt. White, who was in command of the Federals, was informed of the location of the four Confederates, and also that Mr. Cartwright had secreted in the cellar, granary, and other places a large amount of contraband goods. The information, naturally, was pleasing and just before daybreak on Sunday morning Capt. White with a squadron of cavalry started with the intention of surrounding the Cartwright mansion, capturing the prisoners, and securing the contraband goods.

She Saved the Spurs.

The morning dawned bright and clear, and as Capt. Caywood desired an early start all were astir in the Cartwright mansion as the sun arose in the direction of the Chesapeake. While Mrs. Cartwright was busy superintending the preparations for breakfast, her husband was in the parlor entertaining his guest with [*torn*]. As he was conceded to be a splendid host, it was a pleasant occupation for him.

Caywood and Sims were not in the parlor but under the plea [*torn*] taking a stroll around the estate, were quietly scanning the coast to see if any bluecoats were near at hand ready to capture them. This caution saved them, as it turned out. Just as breakfast was ready to be placed on the table one of the children glanced out of the window and saw that the house was surrounded by Federal cavalry, who were preparing to dismount. Instantly the child gave the alarm. Realizing that the discovery on the premises of the handsome gold spurs, meant trouble for her husband and herself, Mrs. Cartwright hurriedly locked the front and back doors of the house, and then proceeding upstairs, she secured the spurs and secreted them in the bosom of her dress. then she took the heavy musket—about as much as she could lift—and hid it in the chimney, a loose brick furnishing support. Returning downstairs, she joined her husband, and was the least agitated of any of the party.

A heavy knock on the outward door was followed by the opening of it by Mr. Cartwright, who asked the object of the warlike visit. Capt. White replied that he had information that a rebel spy, Capt. Caywood, was there, and he desired to search the premises. This was at once granted by Mr. Cartwright, and the search resulted in finding that Capt. Caywood had escaped. The contraband goods were found, however, and were promptly seized and loaded upon one of Mr. Cartwright's wagons. Mr. Cartwright, Amos Fauquier, and the other man were arrested and taken by the Federals to Point Lookout. Arriving there, Mr. Cartwright was able to prove to the satisfaction of the commanding officer that the contraband goods that had been seized were his private property, and that he had purchased them with the intention of opening a store on his plantation. After being detained for about a week, he was released and permitted to return home with honor.

Capts. Caywood and Sims, who had seen the arriving Federals in time to conceal themselves in the thick brush on the edge of the river, remained in hiding until nearly dusk. Then they quietly returned to the house, where they were entertained at dinner by Mrs. Cartwright. As soon as it was dark they secured the spurs from Mrs. Cartwright, also the musket, and departed for the Confederate lines, which they reached without much further trouble. There the spurs were delivered to Gen. Lee, who, while appreciating the gift and the friendship of the fair donors in Baltimore, was never known to have worn them. With his soldiers often hungry for something to eat, he felt that he could not go forth adorned with $450 gold spurs. The spurs are now believed to be with the other relics of the great Confederate General at the home of the late Gen. W. H. F. Lee, a son of Gen. R. E. Lee, in Fauquier County, Va. They are in the custody of Custis Lee and Mildred Lee.

Pair of Silver Spurs Also.

In addition to the gold spurs, Gen. Lee had a splendid pair of silver spurs which were presented to him by other admirers. Maj. George Duffy, of Alexandria, was responsible for the latter pair. He secured from a number of his friends in the army a quantity of silver dollars. These were transformed into a pair of spurs by George Somers, of Alabama, a silversmith, who was in the army, while the steel rowels were

the handicraft of Dr. James B. Hodgkin, of Fauquier County, now a practicing dentist in Washington. These spurs Gen. Lee often wore during his campaign.

Mr. Cartwright continued to reside in St. Mary's County until some time in the seventies, when he removed to Washington. Although he lost his slaves by the war, he accepted the result of the conflict without protest, and often stated that he believed the Union should have been upheld. He became a Republican, and continued with that party until his death in Washington a few years ago at the advanced age of eighty years. Mrs. Cartwright is still living, and visited this section two years ago. This story of the spurs is told as Mr. Cartwright told the writer, and the statement that they were presented by the ladies of Baltimore is vouched for by relatives of Gen. Lee. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright are also believed to be still living, the only son be engaged in business in the State of Washington. One daughter who was named Virginia Lee, in honor of the Confederate General and his native State, is the wife of a prominent banker in Hagerstown, Md.

Many of the Cartwright slaves are still living in lower Maryland, while the one who betrayed the presence of Capt. Caywood to the Federals is living in Washington.

Everyday Life at Fort Washington, Maryland, 1861–1872

DAVID L. SALAY

Between 1861 and 1865 Civil War skirmishes and battles involved only a small percentage of the men enlisted in the Union army and occupied only a small part of military life. Soldiers spent much more time and effort in garrison, preparing for battle, or guarding strategic posts and supplies than fighting battles. The forts they manned sometimes had a brief moment in the spotlight before drifting into the backwater of war and army life. Fort Washington, Maryland, was such a post.[1] Unmanned and ignored in 1860, it became an important defensive post during the first months of the war. But by the end of 1861 conflict had passed it by. Daily routine regulated life at the post. Officers and soldiers at Fort Washington became more concerned about their health and food than with enemy attacks.[1]

Fort Washington, begun in 1816, was part of the "permanent system" of defensive fortifications built after the War of 1812 to protect the harbors of America's major cities. Engineers placed the fort eleven miles south of the city of Washington at Digges Point on the Maryland shore of the Potomac River. Water surrounded the fort on three sides. A steep ravine protected its east or land side. These natural advantages were strengthened with walls twenty-two to twenty-six feet thick and a thirty-foot-wide dry moat on three sides, with the ravine on the fourth.

Until the Civil War, post life centered within the walls of the fort. A brick two-story enlisted men's barrack could house sixty men. Similar quarters housed four officers. The fort enclosed two wells, four cisterns to catch rain water, two magazines, guard rooms, and two prison cells; the ravelin enclosed a stable and forge. The commanding officer's quarters were located outside of the fort, opposite the main entry.

Fort Washington was garrisoned only intermittently after its construction and was left unmanned[2] from 1853 to 1860, but the secession of South Carolina in December 1860 and the rebels' seizure of forts and arsenals within the Palmetto State made Fort Washington a primary defensive post between the federal capital and the Confederacy. Union troops mounted cannon, prepared defenses, and sounded frequent alarms before the first battle at Bull Run. Afterward, life at Fort Washington again settled into a dull routine. Volunteer units assigned to Fort Washington during the remainder of the war—just as elements of the 4th United

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States Artillery, stationed there from 1866 through 1872—faced quiet duty fixed upon a routine of "daily calls" that established when the troops would awaken, eat their meals, drill, stand guard, wash, and maintain the fort.

Something else affected life at Fort Washington. Like most camps lying along the Potomac River, Fort Washington earned its reputation as an unhealthy post.[3] On average, 10 percent of the post was on sick call; in July 1865 the figure reached 24 percent. In August 1870 the United States Surgeon-General reported that "nearly every man, woman, and child" assigned to Fort Washington had been "attacked with either intermittent or remittent fever."[4]

Fort Washington was overcrowded, and the quarters were poorly ventilated. Insect carriers abounded in the form of flies, fleas, mosquitoes, and lice. Food supplies quickly spoiled in hot weather. Most water at the post had to be drawn from the river. While the fort escaped epidemics that struck other posts and regiments in the field, soldiers at Fort Washington suffered from various infectious and non-infectious diseases.[5] "Potomac fever," common during the nineteenth century, was a form of typhoid and particluarly dangerous—more than one-third of all cases led to death. The death toll climbed in the summer, when bacteria and insects thrived; sickness declined after the killing frosts of autumn. Fort Washington was typical. Disease—not battle—was the major killer during the Civil War.

Surgeons, hospital stewards, and the assistants assigned to them shouldered responsibility for health at Fort Washington. Doctors were required to "attend the officers and enlisted men, and the servants and laundresses authorized by law."[6] The surgeon's chief assistant, the hospital steward, oversaw daily routine at the hospital and patient care. Wardmasters, extra-duty soldiers assigned to the job, assisted the hospital steward. Each wardmaster took responsibility for the patients assigned to him and for the furniture, bedding, and cooking utensils in his ward. Depending on the size of the hospital, the surgeon also may have had several matrons, nurses, and cooks to help. The nurses were frequently the soldiers' wives or laundresses.[7]

Little is known of Fort Washington's doctors other than their names and dates of service. The first surgeon assigned to the post during the Civil War, James Simmons, served from February to June 1861. He was succeeded by acting assistant surgeon Samuel Storrer, who served from June 1861 to June 1862. Storrer may have been removed because of his frequent absences or as a result of the act of Congress of April 1862, which added ten surgeons and ten assistant surgeons to the medical corps.[8] Surgeon John H. Bayne, Storrer's replacement, had served at Fort Washington betweem 1848 and 1850. He remained at the post until January 1866, when he became ill. Bayne was followed by a succession of army surgeons, assistant surgeons, and acting assistant surgeons. In November 1870 the last physician, Dr. E. D. Hurtt, was appointed on a short-term contract at five dollars a day.[9]

Surgeon's or sick call took place after reveille, when the first sergeants of each company conducted the sick to the hospital. After an examination, the surgeon determined what cases were feigned, which were to return to quarters as sick or

convalescent, and which were to go to the post hospital. In 1861 and 1862 one of the casemates served as a hospital. Considered "damp and unhealthy," it ill served the men at Fort Washington.[10] On Colonel Merchant's request, a new hospital was completed in 1863. This building created a new set of problems. It was poorly arranged, and the hospital's tongue-and-groove construction provided a haven for bedbugs, adding to the discomfort of the patients and providing an opportunity for disease. A new hospital went up in 1871.[11]

Despite the medical care given to the soldiers, or perhaps because of it, a number of soldiers died at the post or were discharged for medical disability. While Company D, 1st United States Artillery, was at the post in 1861, seven men were discharged for disability—two for insanity.[12] The post and regimental records provide an incomplete account of the toll that disease took on the men. A number of soldiers discharged before their enlistments expired may have been in poor health, and those discharged on medical disability may have died soon afterwards. The records for the volunteer units that passed through Fort Washington during the Civil War are even more incomplete. The 16th Indiana Battery lost two men from unspecified causes while at the fort; the 1st Ohio Independent Battery lost five men— one died and four were discharged.[13] Of the others, little is known. Twelve died at Fort Washington while regular army units garrisoned the post between 1866 and 1872. Three drowned, two accidentally shot themselves, one fell from a wall, one committed suicide, and one each died from sunstroke, consumption, and heart disease, and two died from unstated causes.[14]

In some cases bodies were returned to the men's families; others were buried in a small cemetery near the river at the foot of the hill. Unfortunately, because it was a low-lying area, it was not the most suitable place for a cemetery. Graves, reportedly not over three feet deep, "contained at least a half foot of water."[15] There were other problems involved in giving a soldier a decent burial at Fort Washington. In December 1865, Capt. F. M. Follett wrote that "to make a coffin for a decent burial of a Soldier who fought three years in the war for the Union, and been wounded in the Service, it became necessary to use boards from an Old Shanty."[16] In 1870 the surgeon general recommended using Arlington Cemetery as a burial site for the post's dead, but two years later the fort's cemetery was still in use.[17]

Health problems often related to the soldiers' diet. During the summer months breakfast was served shortly after dawn (5:30 A.M.), later during the winter (6:45 in 1863). Dinner was at noon or 12:30, and supper came shortly after retreat.[18] Although most memories of army food were not favorable, there was official concern that the men be well fed:

> Remember that beans, badly boiled, kill more than bullets; and fat is more fatal than powder. In cooking, more than anything else in the world, always make haste slowly. One hour too much is vastly better than five minutes too little, with rare exception. A big fire scorches your soup, burns your

face, and crisps your temper. Skim, simmer and scour, are the true secrets of good cooking.[19]

The food served at a permanent post like Fort Washington presumably would have been better prepared and closer to what was prescribed in army regulations than the fare men in the field received. The soldier's daily ration in 1861 was three-fourths of a pound of pork or bacon or one and one-quarter pounds of fresh or salt beef. The other staple was bread: eighteen ounces of bread or flour or twelve ounces of hard bread or one and one-quarter pounds of corn meal. Troops also were to receive a ration of beans, rice, or dried potatoes, and mixed vegetables, along with coffee or tea, sugar, vinegar, and salt.[20] This generous allowance increased in August 1861 to include twenty-two ounces of bread or flour or one pound of hard bread and one pound of potatoes three times a week. Because this ration proved overly generous—and resulted in waste—it was reduced in June 1864.[21]

For the boys in blue just off to war at Fort Washington, life could be fairly rewarding, particularly if the folks back home sent them food packages. Meals could be varied and abundant as well: "Fresh beef for dinner. Radishes and pies for supper," and "Living on luxuries, ham, dried beef, pickles, sweitzer cheese, etc."[22] Commanders kept beef cattle on the post and issued fresh beef as often as circumstances permitted. On 30 November 1863, they slaughtered three beef cattle and had eleven on hand; in early February 1865, the post had a herd of nine cattle.[23] According to Lieutenant Campbell, in April 1866 fresh beef was supplied from Washington once one week and twice the next. The garrison at Fort Washington was luckier than most to have fresh supplies of beef near at hand. Much of the army subsisted on salt beef. While "impervious to decay in any sort of climate for at least two years," salt beef was all but inedible.[24] An April 1870 inventory of stores (and losses) at Fort Washington included pork, bacon, cornmeal, hominy, coffee, granulated and cut loaf sugar, tomatoes, peaches, fresh salmon, oysters, condensed milk, soda and Edinburgh crackers, and macaroni.[25]

There were other ways to supplement army rations. In the spring soldiers at Fort Washington caught shad as they moved upstream.[26] The Potomac supplied other fish, and eel, as well. Some soldiers gathered nuts, berries, and, occasionally, some unsuspecting farmer's fruit. In January 1865 the commanding officer forbade any enlisted man "to take his musket into the country, for the purpose of shooting game."[27] In the more settled times after the Civil War, a post garden was established and money was appropriated from the post fund for a plow, harrow, and seed.[28] In the spring of 1867 the men planted potatoes, corn, and peas.[29] Although Captain Mendenhall described the garden at the post as being three or four acres, the surgeon-general's report of 1870 stated that there was "no ground suitable for a post garden." The officers had small gardens attached to their quarters.[30]

Another factor affected the health of the men at Fort Washington. If cleanliness was next to godliness, neither was easy at the post. Today's standards of hygiene and personal cleanliness did not apply. Bathing was not a regular feature of

personal hygiene. Washing the face and brushing hair in the morning constituted the usual routine; teeth were brushed once or twice a week if at all. The *Revised Army Regulations for 1861* reflected these standards: "Where conveniences for bathing are to be had, the men should bathe once or twice a week. The feet to be washed at least twice a week. The hair *kept short*, and beard neatly trimmed."[31] When opportunities to bathe were available, men were to be reminded that "particular attention should be given to washing the person clean, and for this purpose soap should be used."[32]

Fort Washington did not have a bath house, but in season (roughly from May to September) the river served the purpose.[33] There were no arrangements at the post for bathing during the winter. Not only was the season restricted; so, too, was the location and timing of the men's baths. Women and children at the post, and passers-by, could not be exposed to the soldiers' nakedness. Post Order 29 (May-August 1863) permitted bathing only on "the left of the Fort at the foot of the river in rear."[34] Beginning in June 1868, "35 minutes after retreat assembly will be sounded & men marched to the river for bathing" on Tuesdays and Fridays.[35] In July bathing was prohibited between 8 A.M. and retreat.[36] These regulations, or similar ones, were imposed in succeeding years. In 1869 the men bathed fifteen minutes after retreat at the dock twice a week, on Tuesday and Saturday, and at no other time.[37]

While the soldiers were required to wash themselves occasionally, they were not expected to wash their own clothes. Each company was allowed four washerwomen. Laundresses were usually the wives of the enlisted men, some of whom sought duty at a particular post or re-enlisted with the understanding that their wives would be given employment as laundresses. This did not always work out. In March 1870 Stephen Nichols wrote the acting adjutant general that his wife had been appointed laundress at Fort Washington in February.[38] On arriving at the post he was informed that the company did not need a laundress, and his wife could have no quarters at the fort. Nichols requested a transfer because he could not support his wife off post.

Since after 1861 two companies were generally stationed at Fort Washington, there should have been eight laundresses on post. They were allotted one ration per day and received an amount (set by the post council) for each item cleaned.[39] Laundresses also were provided housing. In January 1865 they were quartered in one of the casemates; in 1867 they were moved to the water battery.[40] The latter may have been more convenient, not only because of the dampness of the casemates but because of their proximity to the water. In 1868 a new laundresses' quarters, to house eight women, was built on the hill outside the fort.

Their work was arduous. It began even before they could start to scrub. In 1867 the laundresses's water had to be hauled from the river, a task requiring a "four mule team to be almost constantly employed to give the extra supply required beyond what the cisterns afford."[41] Because of the hardness of the well water,[42] river water also had to be used. The laundresses next heated the water over a fire, poured it in their wash tubs, and began scrubbing clothes on a board with a piece

of soap. After scouring, the clothes were wrung out by hand and hung to dry. It was hard work at any time of the year, both the heat of summer and the cold of winter making it worse.

Fort Washington, Maryland, and the soldiers who served there lived out a daily routine in the backwater of Civil War and post-war military life. Their duty was not to answer the call to battle but to listen for the call to mess or surgeon. They, too, served their country.

NOTES

1. For an overview of United States military fortifications, see Emanuel Raymond Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), and Willard B. Robinson, *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1977). On Fort Washington and its troops, see David L. Salay, "'very picturesque, but regarded as nearly useless': Fort Washington, Maryland, 1816–1872," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 81 (1986): pp. 67–86. Fort Washington is maintained by the National Park Service, under whose auspices the author researched this topic. He would like to thank John Demer, Sarah Olson, David Wallace, and the staff at Fort Washington for their assistance and for their permission to use this material and John B. B. Trussell, Jr. for his comments and suggestions.

2. Fort Washington Post Returns (FW-PR), Microfilm 617, Reel 1383, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter NA); Sgt. Joseph Cameron to Maj. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, 7 December 1841, Quartermaster Consolidated Corr., Box 1217, NA.

3. Surgeon General's Office, *Circular No. 4. A Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 71. For monthly absences, see, for example, July 1861, March 1863, May 1864, July 1865, October 1866, August 1867, FW-PR.

4. *Circular No. 4*, p. 71.

5. For an overview of medical problems during the Civil War, see Paul E. Steiner, *Diseases in the Civil War: Natural Biological Warfare in 1861-1865* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1968); William Howell Reed, *Hospital Life in the Army of the Potomac* (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1866); Stewart Brooks, *Civil War Medicine* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1966).

6. *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. G. L. Brown, 1861), p. 284; see also pp. 58–59 and 281–86.

7. 9 October 1835, RG 393, Post Orders: General, Special and Post Orders (GSP), 1850–54, NA.

8. General Order 43 (19 April 1862), *General Orders: Adjutant General's Office, 1862* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1863).

9. John Billings, Surgeon-General's Department, to Hurtt, 4 November 1870, Fort Washington Post Orders: Letters Sent, 1866–72 (FWPO-LS), NA. Hurtt served until December 1870; no surgeons are listed as being on post after this date.

10. Col. John S. Merchant to Surgeon-General William A. Hammond, 30 September 1862, RG 393, Entry 1329, Old Book, Letters Sent, 1861–66 (OB-LS), p. 67, NA.

11. *Circular No. 4*, p. 71.

12. 1st U.S. Artillery Regimental Description Book, 1851–1864, RG 391, Entry 21, NA.

13. *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866* (Cincinnati: Ohio Valley Company, 1869), p. 639. See also reports of the Indiana adjutant general.

14. 4th U.S. Artillery Regimental Description Book, 1864–69, 1870–83, RG 393, Entry 211, NA.

15. *Circular No. 4*, p. 71; 22 February 1872, Endorsements Sent, 1867–72, (ES) RG 393, Entry 1330, NA.

16. Follett to Col. Joseph H. Taylor, 6 December 1866, FWPO-LS, 1865–72, 3.

17. *Circular No. 4*, p. 71; 22 February 1872, ES.

18. Post Order 27 (21 May 1861) and Post Order 55 (20 November 1863), GSP Orders, 1861–65.

19. *Manual for Army Cooks* (rev. ed.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883, p. 2.

20. *Revised Army Regulations, 1861*, p. 243.

21. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), p. 225. See "Amount of Rations due to the Washington Artillerists, per day—123 men," Company Accounts, Washington Artillerists, Schuylkill County Historical Society, p. ii; see also, p. 4:

Beef (fresh or salt)	153 3/4 lbs.
Pork or Bacon	92 1/4 lbs.
Flour	138 3/8 lbs.
Hard Bread	92 1/4 lbs.
Rice & Coffee	12 3/10 lbs.
Beans, in lieu of Rice	9 21/25 quarts
Sugar	18 9/20 lbs.
Vinegar	1 gallon 7.36 gills
Salt	2 pounds 3.68 gills[23]

22. Heber S. Thompson, *First Defenders* (n.p., n.p., 1910), p. 104.

23. FW-PO: Letters Sent by Acting Quartermaster, 1862–65; 1st Lt. Joseph B. Campbell to Major General Wallace, 27 April 1866, FWPO-LS, 1861–65, NA.

24. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, pp. 320–30.

25. 11 April 1870, FW-PO: Letters Sent, 1865–72, 140–41; see also, 10 October 1869 (108), November 26, 1869 (119), and December 1869 (126), NA.

26. Thompson, *First Defenders*, pp. 102, 104; Robert W. Hodges, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Perry Mayo* (East Lansing, Mich.: Stone Printing Co., 1967), p. 171.

27. General Order 4 (20 January 1865), GSP Orders, 1861–65, NA.

28. Special Order 2 (4 November 1866), General Order 9 (30 December 1866), RG 393, Entry 1336, Proceedings of the Post Council, NA; Special Order 9 (11 February 1867), GSP Orders, 1865–67, NA.

29. General Order 17 (30 April 1867), Proceedings of Post Council, NA. See also Special Order 41, ibid.

30. Capt. John Mendenhall to Col. Joseph G. Taylor, 29 April 1868, FW-PO: Letters Sent, 1865–72, NA; *Circular No. 4*, p. 71.

31. *Circular No. 4*, p. 2.

32. General Order 9 (20 July 1868), RG 393, Entry 1334, General Orders, 1867–72, NA.

33. Thompson, *First Defenders*, pp. 102-5. See also General Order 23 (24 September 1868), General Order 43 (20 September 1869), and General Order 25 (20 September 1871), GO, 1867–72, NA.

34. GSP Orders, 1861–65, NA.

35. General Order 5, GO, 1867–72, NA.

36. General Order 9 (20 July 1868), NA.

37. General Order 26 (20 June 1869), NA. See also, General Order 28 (26 June 1870) and General Order 15 (3 June 1871), ibid.

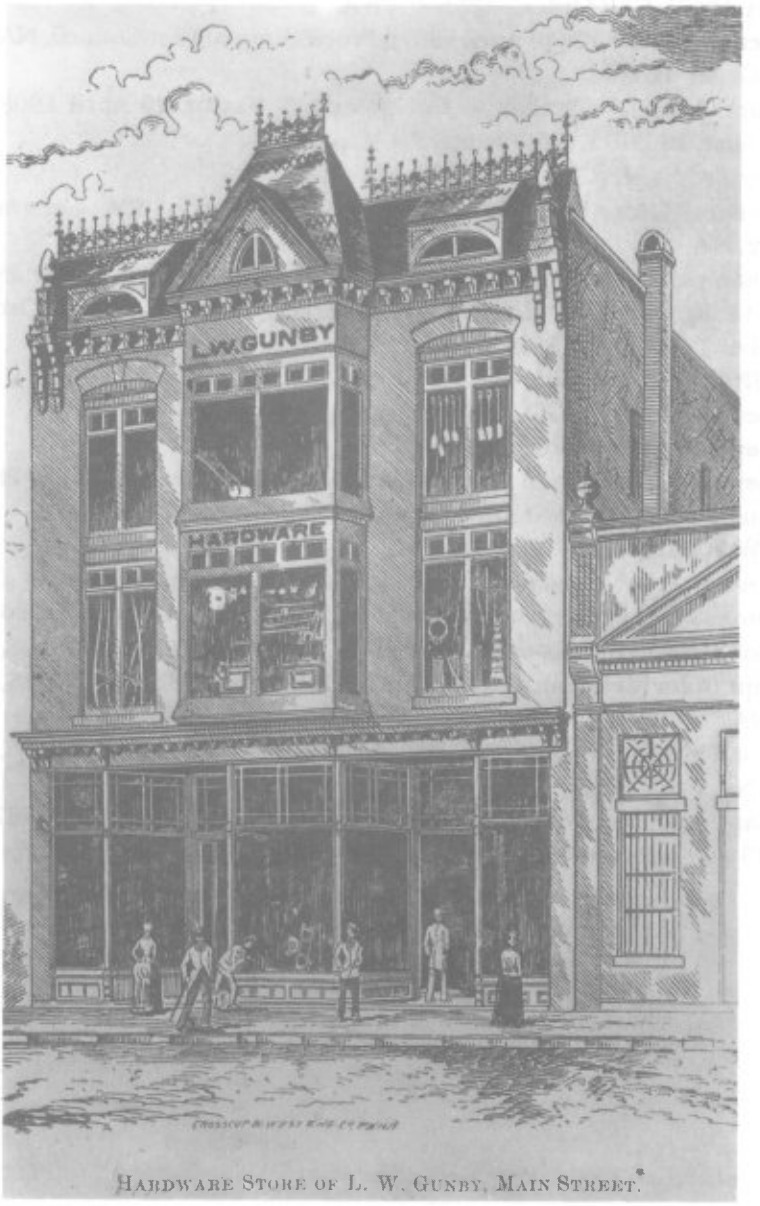
38. FW-PO: LS, 1865–72, p. 134, NA.

39. *Revised Army Regulations, 1861*, p. 24; Maj. Joseph Haskin to Col. E. D. Thompson, 7 September 1861, RG 393 Old Book 437, Letters Sent, 1861–66, NA.

40. Col. Horace Brooks to Col. Joseph H. Taylor, 5 January 1865, LS, 1861–65, 158; Capt. John Mendenhall to Taylor, 11 December 1867, FW-PO: LS, 1865–72, p. 31, NA.

41. Col. Horace Brooks to Col. Joseph H. Taylor, 5 January 1865, LS, 1861–65, p. 158, NA.

42. Capt. John Mendenhall to Maj. John G. Parker, 11 November 1867, RG 393, Entry 1330, Endorsements Sent, 1867–72, p. 87, NA.



The L. W. Gunby hardware store on Main Street, Salisbury. From *Historical Salisbury . . . Illustrated* (Salisbury, Md., 1898). (Courtesy Thurston Studios.)

The L. W. Gunby Company of Salisbury

TOM McLAUGHLIN

Salisbury, Maryland, in the late 1860s still suffered from what had been a devastating fire in 1860 and four years of wartime neglect. One constable patrolled Main street, which ambled up a slope dotted with small trees and businesses in disrepair—a blacksmith shop, two shoemakers, an inn, and Mrs. Gunby's Boarding House. Dock Street, curving along the Wicomico River, led to warehouses, fish markets, and fertilizer plants. Steamboats unloaded passengers and goods from Baltimore before reloading with fresh produce from the farms,[1] but a railroad spur, pushing north of the town, had ended decades of reliance on the water.

Major changes occurred in the 1870s. Completed to Crisfield, the railroad connected the peninsula to Philadelphia and provided transportation for the Eastern Shore's seafood and farm products. Besides fresh oysters, strawberries satisfied the palates of city dwellers. Salisbury's population increased by three thousand people. Sawmills provided the main source of employment. The number of clerks, silversmiths, tinners and merchants expanded dramatically as more produce boarded trains heading north. A new middle class emerged, one whose needs allowed for economic stability not entirely reliant on crop prices or harvests.[2]

Among its beneficiaries was Louis Morris Gunby. Born in Forktown in 1854, he had moved to Salisbury with his family at age thirteen. His mother opened the boarding house on Main Street; young Louis went to work for the John H. White Hardware Company. In January 1872 the store reopened as L. W. Gunby and Company. Family history has it that when the silversmith reversed the M on the window the thrifty Gunby changed his name instead of the letter.[3] From its small beginning, the company became the largest financial institution on the Eastern Shore south of Wilmington. It became involved in changing agricultural practices, innovations in banking, automobile dealerships and household goods.[4]

Farming near Salisbury then involved converting from grain and tobacco to fruits and vegetables. Farmers replaced tobacco and corn with strawberries and peaches. Local newspapers encouraged the trend. Strawberry production in 1872 amounted to 285,610 quarts, most of them shipped from the depot to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.[5]

Gunby took advantage of the changing scene. The fruit business created a great demand for baskets and crates that were used to gather and then ship the produce

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A teacher at the Worcester Country School in Berlin, Maryland, Tom McLaughlin has a strong interest in Eastern Shore history.

L. W. Gunby's shop for selling and repairing carriages, 1899. (Courtesy Thurston Studios.)

by rail. Gunby's first advertisement, directed to fruit growers, offered crate hinges, nails, and hoops. Later he built and supplied the crates and baskets.[6] He also catered to the traditional farmers, advertising his turnip and tobacco seeds. He offered willowwares and pitchforks.[7] Many farmers adopted a grain-and-fruit system. They grew strawberries until harvest in late May and then planted grain crops for the rest of the year. They used the extra cash to purchase labor-saving devices. Gunby introduced a line of plows, binders, and reapers to meet this demand.[8]

Increasing fruit production and the problem of spoilage resulted in the introduction of canneries on the Shore. Birckhead and Brewington began processing peaches in 1871. As technology advanced, more local canneries appeared until fifty operated in Wicomico County alone. Barnlike structures housed each operation, which included mazes of pulleys, belts, belts gears and power trains.[9] The machines often broke down, requiring spare parts and persons knowledgeable to repair them. Gunby provided the belts, knives, and other equipment—along with the engine expertise vital to the industry.

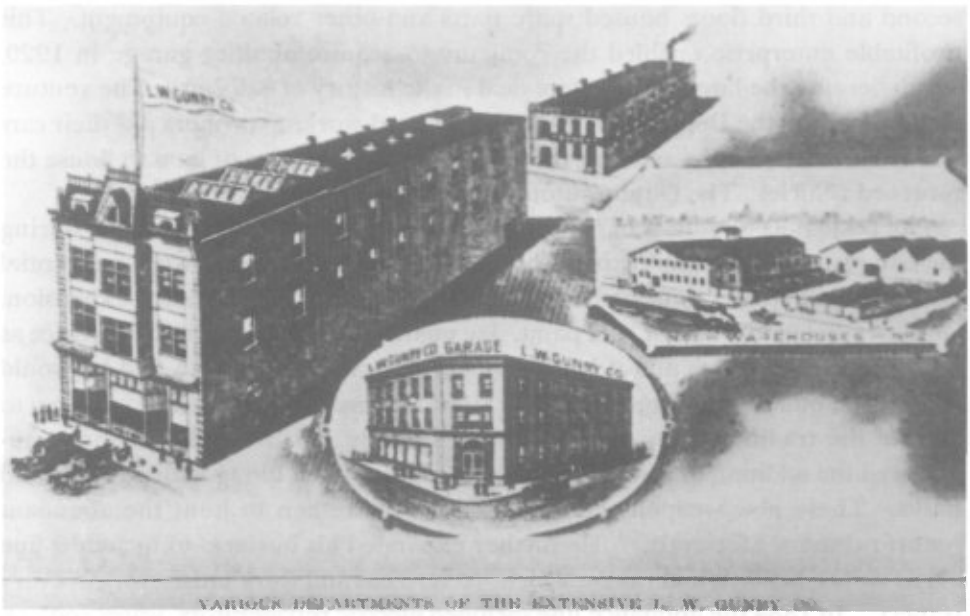
Mrs. Williams's sawmill operated in Salisbury in 1871, and the local paper stated that several other mills conducted business in the area. The Williams mill, widely known in the area for its number of injuries, prompted the local paper to urge millers to be more careful. L. W. Gunby provided materials to the mills, and as the

industry moved farther away from the town center, the company sold or rented portable mills.[10]

Buying property and mortgage lending is a safe and profitable way for affluent citizens to invest their money. Gunby recorded his first mortgage on 20 June 1889, when he lent $172 with collateral that included one bay mare, brood sows, eleven piglets and other livestock. His second mortgage, to Oliver Catlin, purchased 124 acres in Tyaskin for slightly more than $400. He bought ninety shares in the Salisbury Permanent Building and Loan Association for $9,000, using his building as collateral.[11]

Gunby's real estate investments included the acquisition of a lot on Railroad Avenue close to the depot, where he built a line of sheds to house plows and carts. He procured a lot on Camden Avenue, where he built a large Victorian home for his family. In 1896 he obtained another parcel on Railroad Avenue adjoining the first one. The company also secured a lot at the corner of East Camden and Division streets, close to his hardware store. The company successfully bid at auction for the Salisbury Manufacturing Company adjoining Gunby's other parcels on Railroad Avenue. This last purchase enabled him to own an entire block along the railroad and next to the depot.[12]

Incorporation of a business allowed a company to standardize procedures to facilitate financing and simplify transactions. The Gunby Company incorporated in 1903 for the sum of $21,700. The firm included the hardware store with three



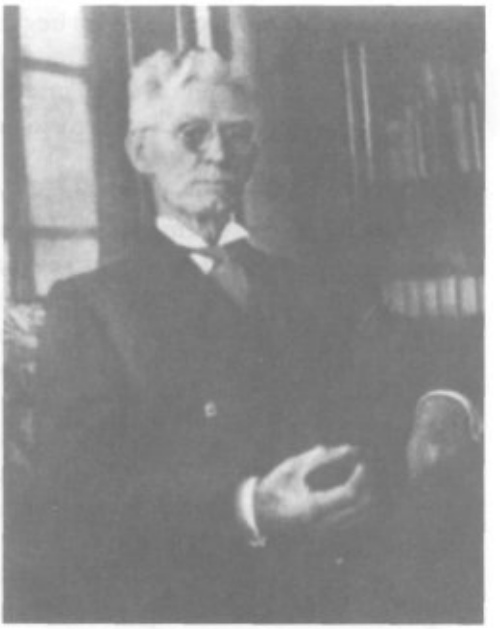
An advertising circular from about 1914 shows the various departments of the "extensive" L. W. Gunby Co., including the original hardware store, garage, and "new warehouses." (Courtesy Thurston Studios.)

parcels of land downtown and the Railroad Avenue complex. Louis Gunby and his wife Fannie Graham Gunby became the only officers of the corporation.[13]

The Salisbury Permanent Building and Loan Association had organized following the great fire of 1886, which destroyed most of the business district. The concern received a state charter under the administration of Governor Frank Brown who stated, "I will never sign another one like it because it gave the association the right to do almost any kind of business." The firm became popular when it issued home mortgages with small weekly payments. L. W. Gunby, appointed to the board of directors in the early 1900s, became vice president in 1909 and president in 1914.[14] A new building opened in Salisbury to house the association. The first floor housed the bank, ornate with marble terrazzo and mahogany counters. The company boasted a separate entrance and parlor for ladies who wished to do business. The center of the bank consisted of a large vault to "establish in the minds of patrons that sense of protection which is so necessary." The bank continued to issue hundreds of mortgages until the Depression, when the assets became incorporated into the Gunby Company.[15]

Gunby again surpassed local competitors as an auto dealer, drawing on his company's earlier experience in carriage repair. The first automobile to appear in Salisbury, a Stanley Steamer, was owned by William L. Edison, son of the famous inventor. Others in Salisbury bought an Oldsmobile, a Cleveland and a Rambler. The Gunby Company bought the city's first truck while also acquiring the Dodge, Nash and Ford dealerships. In 1908 it opened a 24,000-square-foot garage. The first floor displayed new vehicles in the front, with repair bays in the back. The second and third floors housed spare parts and other related equipment. This profitable enterprise enabled the company to acquire another garage in 1920, which became the largest real estate deal in the history of Salisbury. The venture continued until the Depression, when honest hard-working farmers put their cars and trucks on the train and sent them back. It took an acre of land to house the returned vehicles. The Gunby automotive division closed in 1938.[16]

The basic nuts and bolts of the hardware store we know today evolved during the Gunby period. Large Victorian homes were erected in Newtown, a residential district whose streets were named and laid out in 1873. Eyeing such expansion, Gunby invested in a line of lead paint. He guaranteed his paint would go twice as far as his competitors', and if his customers were not satisfied he said he would repaint the building.[17] Breech-loading rifles and prepared ammunition began to replace the traditional muzzle loaders in the early 1870s. In 1876 Gunby announced the addition of pistols and rifles to his inventory along with powders and flasks. These new weapons enabled Eastern Shoremen to hunt the abundant waterfowl more efficiently.[18] He further expanded his business to include a line of gas stoves, heaters, and ranges which "bake, roast and work satisfactory in every respect." In 1884 the appliance line included electric refrigerators, water coolers, ice cream freezers and burglar alarms. He became an agent for the H. M. Sciple Company of Philadelphia for engines and boilers. He also became the distributor for the new Excelsior Penn heating stove and Queen Oil ranges.[19]



L. W. Gunby in his later years. (Courtesy Thurston Studios.)

After the great fire of 1886, Gunby built a 25,000-square-foot three-story store. The first floor contained hardware and cutlery. The second housed lines of plumbing supplies, paint, wheelwright fixtures, and seed. The third contained stoves, refrigerators, roofing materials and heaters. The cellar held blacksmith supplies such as nails, horseshoes and leather goods.[20] Minor changes occurred in the store inventory over time. The advent of the automobile and the subsequent decline of the blacksmith industry caused the cellar to become a repository for pipe, nails, large bolts, fittings, and electrical cable. The front part of the third floor became a Christmas lay-away facility. In 1934 the Chamber of Commerce boasted that Gunby had enough paint to clothe 60 percent of the houses in Salisbury, water pipe to connect the fifteen miles between Salisbury and Princess Anne, roofing to rain-proof four acres, four miles of garden hose, and electrical wire to reach Ocean City, thirty-two miles away. Elderly local residents fondly remember the store for its toy display at Christmas.[21]

By the late 1940s and early 50s, Salisbury's business leaders began an urban renewal program. Parking had become a major problem, and they organized a business bureau whose first step explored free parking for the downtown shopping area. It also became clear that the Gunby industrial complex was not in the town's best interests. The council adopted the concept of a loop with parking in the center. The Gunby buildings—including the machine shop, car dealerships and other structures—stood in the center of the proposed lot. The city petitioned the legislature for authority to condemn the Gunby properties, and in 1953 city officials rezoned the complex from industrial to commercial.[22] Eventually the company moved its entire operation to the Railroad Avenue complex.

L. W. Gunby's advertising practices demonstrated his knowledge of the retail scene and willingness to adapt to change. His first ads appealed to thrifty farmers. One or two lines stated that it would be in the farmers' best interests to buy from him, followed by a list of three or four items. A curiosity ad asked the public to come in to see his live "injun." Due to the poor quality of cigars purchased wholesale, Gunby stated he had them made especially for him. He changed the store's name to Gunby's Cheap Hardware store, and most of his ads contained the word "cheap." In 1884 he dropped the cheap campaign and changed the name to

Gunby's Hardware Depot. He then began buying half-page ads in the local weekly, advertising a specific item or a list of items the store sold. To undercut the competition, he no longer divulged prices. By the early 1900s he ceased advertising in the newspaper except for occasional quarter-page ads announcing a new appliance.[23]

A unique local service advertising ploy began in 1888. Using flags, he set up a weather-forecasting system on top of the store. A white flag indicated fair weather, a solid blue flag warned of rain or snow, a black triangular flag told temperature, while a white flag with a black triangle forecast a cold wave. Gunby had the forecasts telegraphed to him daily from the War Department in Washington. In an age without television or radio, citizens could look atop Gunby's to tell the weather.[24]

Not surprisingly, Gunby himself became a pillar of the community. Salisbury's first baseball team, the White Clouds, organized in February 1873, the first game pitting businessmen against lawyers in an intramural contest (the lawyers won). The team played other towns with teams formed from the business sector. Gunby played second base.[25] When in 1888 the Salisbury Board of Trade formed to attract and promote trade, encourage manufacturing enterprises, and protect its members in granting credit, Gunby became one of five members of the executive committee. He and his colleagues appointed standing committees on transportation and rates, hospitality, and public improvements. Gunby's other memberships included one in the anti-saloon league. He was an elder in the Wicomico Presbyterian Church, vice chairman of the Liberty Loan Drives of World War I, vice president of the phone company, and a director of the Salisbury Normal School, later Salisbury State College.[26] In a rare interview in 1915, L. W. Gunby attributed his success to his "rule to have on hand any article in my various lines that may be called for. Dealing with this company does not mean one must wait until it is ordered from the factory, but rather the shipment or filling an order the minute it is placed."[27] He was fortunate to have capital sufficient for such a large inventory.

Gunby died a few days before his ninety-seventh birthday. He had worked in his business between the ages of eighteen and eighty-nine, a total of seventy-one years. The Gunby family worshiped at the Wicomico Presbyterian Church on Broad Street. Walking to the Broad street entrance, one is impressed by a huge stained-glass window on the right. The scene depicts Christ's Resurrection. Etched at the bottom is the name Louis White Gunby. This window is perhaps the only reminder of a prominent family that contributed much to the growth of Salisbury.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Mrs. Denny Snyder, librarian of the Worcester Country School, and to historian John Jacobs.

2. See U.S. census bureau returns for Wicomico County, 1870 and 1880.

3. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 6 and 20 January 1972. Author's interview with Norris Pilchard, Salisbury, 22 April 1990. Pilchard is a nephew of Gunby and worked in the store his entire life.

4. *Wicomico News Historical and Industrial Edition*, c. August 1908.

5. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 25 March, 16 June, 1 and 20 July 1872.

6. R. Lee Burton Jr, *Canneries of the Eastern Shore* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986), p. 42.

7. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 20 January and 3 August 1872.

8. Board of World's Fair Managers, *Maryland Its Resources, Industries. and Institutions* (Baltimore: Sun Job Printing Office, 1893), pp. 165, 168; Salisbury *Advertiser*, 10 April 1886.

9. R. Lee Burton, Jr., *Canneries of the Eastern Shore*, pp. 36, 41, 160–62. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 9 September 1871; *Wicomico News and Historical Edition*, 1908, p.4.

10. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 24 March 1883.

11. Wicomico County Land Records (hereafter WCLR), Land Records Office, Salisbury, FMS liber 5, folio 50, FMS liber 6, folio 503, and FMS liber 7, folio 3.

12. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 8 August 1888. See also WCLR, FMS liber 5, folio 65, JTT liber 22, folio 449; JTT liber 37, folio 201.

13. WCLR JTT liber 37, folio 199.

14. Wicomico *News*, 9 July 1914; Salisbury *Courier*, 25 March 1905.

15. Wicomico *News*, 9 July 1914.

16. *Wicomico News Historical and Industrial Edition*, c. August, 1908; Wicomico *News and Advertiser*, 8 July 1920; author's interview with Norris Pilchard.

17. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 4 December 1873 and 10 February 1877.

18. Ibid., 11 and 14 November, 12 December 1876.

19. Ibid., 22 September 1883, 12 September 1884, and 14 January 1885.

20. *The Wicomico News and Historical Edition*, c. August, 1908.

21. Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, *Sketches and Personalities of Salisbury*, 1934.

22. Salisbury City Council Minutes, Salisbury Mayor's Office, 19 November 1951, 4 August 1952 and 26 May 1953.

23. Salisbury *Advertiser*, 8 June 1872, 14 September 1872, 16 January 1873, 4 February 1874, and 12 September 1884.

24. Ibid., 12 September 1888.

25. Ibid., 5 April 1872, 15 February 1873, and 17 May 1873.

26. Ibid., 26 October 1888.

27. *Wicomico News Industrial Section*, 1 July 1915.

Devices and Desires: Realizing Wider Understanding and Access to Maryland's Recorded Heritage

TIMOTHY PYATT, DEAN YATES, and STEPHANIE THORSON

Imagine one hundred and twenty-five thousand cubic feet of records—twenty three and two-thirds *miles* of cubic-foot boxes if stretched end to end—and each box full of up to a thousand unique items, the majority of which has not been described in any detail. Making this vast collection of ledgers, court documents, probate records, electronic files, photographs, and other related media available to the public is half of the problem archivists face at the Maryland State Archives today. The other half is that, in addition to the fourteen thousand people who come to our search room each year and the twenty-five thousand who write to us for assistance, countless others who may need information in our holdings neither come nor write because they have no idea what we have.

Providing access to the records in its custody is the archive's fundamental charge; achieving that goal has always been its greatest challenge. The Maryland State Archives has recently moved to meet the challenge by wedding traditional methods of record description with modern technology.[1] When the present project is complete, a person anywhere in the country will be able to call up on a computer screen descriptions of a fair share of the records in the State Archives collection. With this information, the researcher can decide whether the Maryland State Archives has anything of interest, and if so, to narrow the search from the potential total of over twenty-three miles of records to no more than a few cubic feet.

This project is "series-driven," focusing at first on record series rather than the agencies that created them. A record series is a group of similar documents created by an agency of government, such as account ledgers, board minutes, correspondence, court judgments, or wills. The descriptions of these record series incorporate information about content, date span of the documents, quantity of material, arrangement, and access such as whether it is indexed. Histories of the agencies that created these record series are also being written. They are less comprehensive than the series descriptions and designed only to orient the reader to the records by summarizing how an agency functioned, when it existed, and what was its legal mandate.

Timothy D. Pyatt is director of processing, Dean K. Yates project archivist, and Stephanie Thorson a project intern at the Maryland State Archives.

Each series description and agency history is created as a unique record using the internationally accepted USMARC-AMC (U.S. Machine Readable Cataloging-Archives and Manuscripts Control) format. In turn, these records are used to build an expandable database, or "guide" to state agency records at the Maryland State Archives that will be "published" electronically on the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN), MICROCAT (the union catalog for Maryland libraries), and VICTOR (the catalog of the University of Maryland System), as well as on the resident computer system at the State Archives.

The sample entries that follow provide a preview of the descriptive database, or guide, which by the summer of 1993 will encompass all state agency records in the Maryland State Archives' collections. Each USMARC-AMC record lists the Archives' control number (the MSA number), followed by the series or agency name and date span. Series descriptions also indicate the size of each holding in cubic feet.

I. Colonial Court Records

MSA SH 4 Prerogative Court 1638–1777

The probate court of Maryland for the greater part of the colonial period was called the Prerogative Court. Modeled after its English counterpart, the court kept probate records including wills, administration accounts, inventories, and testamentary proceedings. The origin of the court can be traced back to the charter granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632. In it he was given complete control over the colony, including probate matters. In 1637 Lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, lieutenant general (governor) and placed him in charge of the colony. A council was named to advise him with one of its members, John Lewger, designated as secretary of the province. In 1638 Lewger was appointed commissioner "in causes testamentary, to prove the last wills and testaments of persons deceased." The provincial secretary continued to oversee probate matters until 1670, when Lord Baltimore appointed Sir William Talbot as secretary and formally established the Prerogative Court. Baltimore gave Talbot full power "to hear sentence and declare all matters touching wills, administrations, and inventories." The name Prerogative Court was first used in the records on 19 May 1671.

The court was removed from the provincial secretary's control in 1672, when Lord Baltimore appointed Philip Calvert chancellor and judge or commissary general for probate of wills. Calvert did not use the term "Prerogative Court" and it does not appear in the records from the time he was sworn in on 24 April 1673 until his death in 1682. A few years later, however, the term reappears and was used continuously thereafter.

The Constitution of 1776 provided for the appointment of a register of wills in each county. The following year, after appointing an orphan's court and a register of wills in each county, the General Assembly abolished the Prerogative Court (*Laws of 1777*, ch. 8).

Series Description

MSA S0529 Testamentary proceedings, 1657–1777, 18.5 cubic ft.

Records of the secretary concerning probate matters (1657–1670) and the proceedings of the Prerogative Court (1670–1777). Early volumes contain wills, inventories, and accounts, as well as court proceedings. Inventories and accounts recorded separately beginning 1674. Wills recorded separately beginning 1676. Volume for 1657 contains land and cattle records, in addition to probate and testamentary proceedings. Some original records have been replaced by photostatic copies. Indexed by the Testamentary Proceedings, Index series [MSA S0530] and the MARYLAND INDEXES Testamentary Proceedings, Index series [MSA S1394].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp. 95–99. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0015.

MSA S0530 Testamentary proceedings, index, 1657–1777. 8.5 cubic ft.

Index of the Testamentary Proceedings series [MSA S0529] by individual name. See also the Maryland Indexes Testamentary Proceedings, Index series [MSA S1394].

MSA S0531 Accounts, 1718–1777. 29 cubic ft.

Record of estate finances. Entries list financial obligations. Amounts given in pounds sterling. Some photostatic copies have replaced the original record books. Indexed by the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp. 110–12. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0007.

MSA S0532 Accounts, index, 1718–1777. 1 cubic ft.

Index of the Accounts series [MSA S0531] by name of individual. See also the Maryland Indexes Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0008.

MSA S0533 Balance book, 1751–1776. 2.5 cubic ft.

Record of balance remaining after estate probated. Entries show distribution of property to heirs and representatives. See also the Accounts series [MSA S0531]. Some original record books have been replaced by photostatic copies. Indexed by the Balance Book, Index series [MSA S0542].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp. 112–13. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0009.

MSA S0534 Inventories, 1718–1777. 54.5 cubic ft.

Record of property of estates. Entries list estate assets. Values given in pounds sterling. Some original records books have been replaced by photostatic copies. Indexed by the Inventories, Index series [MSA S0535] and MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp.107–10. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0011.

MSA S0535 Inventories, index, 1718–1777. 1.4 cubic ft.

Index of the Inventories series [MSA S0534] by name of individual. See also the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0012.

MSA S0536 Inventories and accounts, 1674–1718. 15.5 cubic ft.

Record of estate property and finances. For records before 1674, see the Testamentary Proceedings series [MSA S0529]. See also the Accounts series [MSA S0531] and the Inventories series [MSA S0534]. Indexed by the Inventories and Accounts, Index series [MSA S0537] and the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp.104–6. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0013.

MSA S0537 Inventories and accounts, index, 1674–1718. 1 cubic ft.

Index of the Inventories and Accounts series [MSA S0536] by name of individual. See also the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0014.

MSA S0538 Wills, 1635–1777. 21 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of colonial-era wills. First two volumes represent wills transcribed from various sources. Wills recorded separately beginning 1676. Indexed by the Wills, Index series [MSA S0539] and the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, pp.100–4. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0016.

MSA S0539 Wills, index, 1634–1777. 2 cubic ft.

Index of the Wills series [MSA S0538] by individual. First four volumes arranged alphabetically. Fifth volume is "Early Settlers" index. See also the Maryland Indexes Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Volume 5 printed in: *Early Settlers of Maryland*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0017.

MSA S0540 Wills, original, 1666–1777. 19.5 cubic ft.

Original probate documents recorded in the Wills series [MSA S0538] record books. Indexed by the MARYLAND INDEXES Probate Records, Colonial, Index series [MSA S1393].

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, p.113.

MSA S0541 Testamentary papers, 1659–1777. 23.5 cubic ft.

Original administration bonds, inventories, libels, accounts, summonses, commissions, deputy commissaries's returns, and other related documents.

Described in: Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946, p.113.

MSA S0542 Balance book, index, 1751–1776. .5 cubic ft.

Index of the Balance Book series [MSA S0533] arranged alphabetically by individual. Also available on microfilm, SM0010.

MSA SH 5 Provincial Court 1637–1776

The exact date of the creation of the Provincial Court is unknown; it is likely that it dates from Leonard Calvert's commission as lieutenant general of the colony in 1637. Originally called the County Court, the Provincial Court was modeled after the English county courts. The name change probably occurred sometime between 1640 and 1642, when St. Mary's and Kent counties were created, each with a county court. The Provincial Court had concurrent jurisdiction with the county courts in most matters, served as an appellate court to the county courts, and had original jurisdiction in criminal cases involving life or member and in civil cases that exceeded a specified value, which varied throughout the court's history. The Provincial Court also heard chancery, testamentary, and guardianship cases until the chancery and prerogative courts were established and guardianship matters were transferred to the county courts. In addition, the Provincial Court had concurrent jurisdiction with the county courts in recording conveyances of land, which was compulsory after 1663. No restrictions were placed on cases that could be brought before the Provincial Court until the Assembly in 1710 passed an act limiting the court's jurisdiction to cases where debt or damage was not less than twenty pounds sterling or 5,000 pounds of tobacco. In 1773 the General Assembly raised the limit, giving county courts exclusive jurisdiction in civil cases with a value less than one hundred pounds sterling or 30,000 pounds of tobacco.

The lower house of the assembly perennially complained that judges of the Provincial Court also sat on the provincial council. The Maryland Constitution of 1776 addressed the issue by forbidding any person from holding more than one office of profit. The Constitution also renamed the Provincial Court as the General Court, and divided it geographically into the General Court of the Eastern Shore and the General Court of the Western Shore.

Series Description

MSA S0543 Judgment record, index, 1658–1775. 1 cubic ft.

Index of the Judgment Record series [MSA S0551]. Entries list plaintiffs' and defendants' surnames, type of action involved, and volume/page reference. Arranged alphabetically. See also the MARYLAND INDEXES Judgment Record, Provincial Court, Index series [MSA S1465]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0021.

MSA S0544 Judgments, 1700–1776. 63.5 cubic ft.

Contains appeals, deeds, bonds, lawyer qualifications, naturalization papers, and other documents filed in matters brought before the court. Many case files are recorded in the Judgment Record series [MSA S0551]. Arranged topically, then alphabetically.

MSA S0545 Land records, index, 1658–1777. .5 cubic ft.

Name index to the Land Records series [MSA S0552]. Entries list principals' names, type of action involved, and a volume/page reference. Arranged alphabetically. See also the MARYLAND INDEXES Land Records, Provincial and State, Index series [MSA S1466]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0023.

MSA S0546 Chancery proceedings, 1684–1685. .5 cubic ft.

Actions taken by the Provincial Court while serving as an appellate court for the Chancery Court. Entries include escheats (reversions of property to the province when no competent heir exists), writs of error (directives instructing the lower court to remit to the appellate court the record of cases heard that contain certain alleged errors), and writs of mandamus (directives instructing a lower court to perform a particular act). Related to the Chancery Court Chancery Papers series [MSA S0512] and Chancery Record series [MSA S0517]. Bound with the Judgment Record series [MSA S0551]. Arranged chronologically. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0018.

MSA S0547 Criminal record, 1683–1706. 1 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of criminal cases tried in the Provincial Court. Arranged chronologically. Indexed. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0019.

MSA S0548 Docket, 1758–1774. .5 cubic ft.

Brief record of actions taken in criminal and civil cases. Entries list plaintiffs' and defendants' names, an outline of proceedings, and references to cases recorded in the Judgment Record series [MSA S0551]. Some volumes bound with the Minutes series [MSA S0553]. Some volumes indexed.

MSA S0549 Ejectment papers, 1636–1777. 84 cubic ft.

Documents pertaining to ejectment proceedings. An ejectment is usually initiated to establish the claim of an occupant to a tract of land. Arranged alphabeti-

cally by tract name, county, and then by plaintiff's name. See also the Ejectments, Index [MSA S0550].

MSA S0550 Ejectments, index, 1679–1775. .5 cubic ft.

Index of ejectment proceedings by owner's name and tract name. Entries consist of type of ejection (e.g., vacated patent, trespass, or restitution) and a volume/page reference for the Judgment Record series [MSA S0551]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0060.

MSA S0551 Judgment record, 1658–1775. 35 cubic ft.

Records of cases tried in the Provincial Court. Entries include the names of the plaintiff, defendant, and judge as well as the complaint and the decision. Indexed by the Ejectments, Index series [MSA S0550], the Judgment Record, Index series [MSA S0543], and the MARYLAND INDEXES Judgment Record, Provincial Court, Index series [MSA S1465]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0020.

MSA S0552 Land records, 1658–1777. 11 cubic ft.

Recorded conveyances of land. Some records are transcripts or photostats. Indexed by the Land Records, Index series [MSA S0545], the MARYLAND INDEXES Land Records, Tract Index series [MSA S0555], and the Land Records, Provincial and State, Index series [MSA S1466]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0022.

MSA S0553 Minutes, 1767–1774. .5 cubic ft.

Clerk's record of court proceedings. Entries posted chronologically reflecting the date, those present, as well as a general account of the court's business. Bound with the Docket series [MSA S0548].

MSA S0554 Writs, 1666–1674. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of orders issued by the court authorizing or prohibiting some action. Among the entries are subpoenas, summonses, and "writs for patenting for land." Arranged chronologically. Indexed.

MSA S0555 Land records, tract index, 1658–1777. .5 cubic ft.

Index of land conveyances by tract name recorded in the Land Records series [MSA S0552]. Entries list the names of the tract and the principals involved, the type of conveyance, and a volume/page reference. Arranged alphabetically. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0097.

MSA SH 7 Chancery Court 1669–1854

In 1637 Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, sent a commission to Maryland appointing the governor as chancellor of the province, thereby empowering him to preside over a chancery court. A chancery court hears equity cases, those that require an equitable, or fair, resolution that cannot be decided on the basis of common or statute law (e.g., settlements of estates or divorces). Both law and equity cases were at first heard in the Provincial Court. While the offices of governor and chancellor were held by the same person, he presided over hearings

of both types of cases. When Charles Calvert replaced Philip Calvert as governor in 1661, however, Philip retained the chancellorship and continued to preside at equity cases when the governor was absent and to serve as keeper of the Great Seal of Maryland.

By 1669 the number of equity cases had increased to the point that a separate clerk for the Chancery Court was needed. While the clerkships of the Chancery and Provincial courts were sometimes held by the same person until 1694, the two offices and their records were kept separate.

While the Chancery and the Provincial courts were distinct bodies, they maintained close ties and met in joint session until 1675, when the Chancery Court began to hold separate meetings. The membership of both courts consisted of the governor and council until 1694, when the governor and two non-council members were commissioned as judges of the Chancery Court. The number of judges varied between three and seven until 1720, when it became a one-judge court presided over by the chancellor. Maryland was a royal colony between 1692 and 1715. During part of that period the chancellor's office was held by someone other than the governor, though in 1699 the governor resumed that office. The chancellorship was again relinquished by the governor in 1719 and assumed again in 1725, after which the governor reserved the office and its duties as keeper of the Great Seal and sole judge of the Chancery Court for himself.

The offices of governor and chancellor were permanently separated by the Constitution of 1776, which provided that the chancellor be appointed by the governor and council. At first the chancellor's term was indefinite, but a constitutional amendment in 1838 limited it to seven years. The court's jurisdiction in equity cases was largely unaffected by the constitutional changes, although other responsibilities were occasionally assigned to the chancellor, including a requirement that election returns be filed with him. An act of 1785 gave the court jurisdiction over the property and affairs of minors and of mentally deficient persons. The act also gave the chancellor authority to appoint an Auditor to state, audit, and settle accounts agreeable to his order.

The court's caseload was reduced by an act in 1814, which granted the county courts concurrent jurisdiction (the Anne Arundel County Court never heard chancery cases, since the Chancery Court sat in Annapolis). Despite the 1814 act, some 2,000 cases were still on the docket in 1851 when the new state constitution provided for the gradual dismantling of the court. The chancellor was continued in office for another two years to dispose of the backlog, but no new cases were allowed on the docket.

Series Description

MSA S0147 Trial docket, 1807–1813. .5 cubic ft.

Disposition record of cases heard. Entries show the surnames of litigants and notations on court actions. Arranged by case number for each term.

MSA S0512 Chancery papers, 1669–1854. 782 cubic ft.

Documents filed as part of cases before the court, including bills of complaint, petitions, answers, testimony, trustees reports, exhibits, and plats. Many cases recorded in the Chancery Record series [MSA S 517]. Arranged by case number. Indexed by the Chancery Papers, Index series [MSA S 516] and by MARYLAND INDEXES Chancery Papers, Index series [MSA S1432], which exists as a database. See also the MARYLAND INDEXES Chancery Papers, Petition Index series [MSA S1434], the Chancery Papers, Tract Index series [MSA S1433], and the Chancery Papers, Trustee Index series [MSA S1435].

MSA S0513 Appeal bonds, 1821–1841. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of bonds filed to cover costs of appeals to the Court of Appeals.

MSA S0514 Bonds and reports, 1792–1820. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of bonds and reports filed by trustees appointed by the court to administer trust funds. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0516 Chancery papers, index, 1785–1851. .5 cubic ft.

Index to cases in the Chancery Papers series [MSA S0512] by surname of plaintiff. For more complete access, see MARYLAND INDEXES Chancery Papers, Index series [MSA S1432], which exists as a database.

MSA S0517 Chancery record, 1668–1852. 81 cubic ft.

Copies of court documents, including bills of complaint, petitions, answers, testimony, trustees reports, exhibits, and plats. Early records also include indentures and marriage records. Some records exists as photostatic copies. Arranged chronologically. Indexed by the Chancery Record, Index series [MSA S 518] and MARYLAND INDEXES Chancery Record, Index series [MSA S1431]. Also available on microfilm for 1668–1800, MSA SM0001.

MSA S0518 Chancery record, index, 1668–1797. 5.5 cubic ft.

Index by names of litigants to cases recorded in the Chancery Record series [MSA S0517]. Consists of fourteen typescript volumes compiled in the early twentieth century. See also the Maryland Incexes Chancery Record, Index [MSA S1431].

MSA S0519 Checkbook, 1821–1830. .5 cubic ft.

Records of checks drawn to individuals from accounts held by the court with amount and reason for payment noted.

MSA S0520 Condemnation record, 1737–1775. 2.5 cubic ft.

Contains docket entries, records of cases, and writs of ad quod damnum. A writ of ad quod damnum required a county sheriff to determine the damage that would result if an individual's request for land, usually for the construction of a mill, were granted. Bound with the Chancery Record series [MSA S0517]. Also available on microfilm, MSA SM0181.

MSA S0521 Insolvency papers, 1787–1805. 2 cubic ft.

Documents filed in bankruptcy cases of individuals, arranged alphabetically.

MSA S0522 Insolvency record, 1787–1818. 1.5 cubic ft.

Recorded copies filed in bankruptcy cases of individuals. Includes inventories. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0523 Lunacy docket, 1816–1850. .5 cubic ft.

Record of the disposition of insanity cases heard. Entries note court actions, the names of some of the individuals affected, and petitions. Arranged roughly by year.

MSA S0524 Minutes, 1785–1824. .5 cubic ft.

Clerk's record of court proceedings. Includes copies of writs issued, policy decisions, notes on cases, and signed oaths of attorneys and court officials. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0525 Bank book, 1828–1836. .5 cubic ft.

Bank passbook for accounts held at Farmer's Bank of Maryland for court-appointed trustees.

MSA S0526 Petition docket, 1824–1852. .5 cubic ft.

Record of the disposition of petition cases heard showing the names of petitioners and notations of court actions. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0527 Docket, 1784–1851. 14.5 cubic ft.

Record of the disposition of chancery cases heard. Entries show names of the litigants, their counties of residence, and some notes concerning the court's action. Arranged by case number for each term.

MSA S0528 Chancery papers, exhibits, 1752–1856. 104 cubic ft.

Accounts, checkbooks, ledgers, invoices, inventories, bills, letters, plats, and other financial paperwork presented as exhibits in chancery cases. Includes Stoddert's 1718 survey of the city of Annapolis. No apparent arrangement.

Also available on microfilm for 1752–1766, MSA SM0079.

MSA S0515 Bonds, releases, and receipts, 1822–1853. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded copies of bonds filed by court-appointed trustees as well as releases and receipts from beneficiaries of court administered trust funds. A release was a statement acknowledging receipt of money from a court-appointed trustee and releasing the trustee from any further legal responsibility for that money.

MSA SH 10 Admiralty Court 1691–1789.

Although the colonial charter gave the lord proprietor the right to set up any courts for land or sea that he deemed necessary, no specific courts were established to hear cases involving maritime law. The Provincial Court sat in admiralty to hear such cases, but at least one case, the forfeiture of the ship *Liverpool Merchant*, was heard in 1682 by the Chancery Court. Not until the royal period (1692–1715) was

any serious effort devoted to the establishment of an admiralty court in the colony. Every royal governor was commissioned a vice admiral by the lords of admiralty to enforce the English Acts of Trade. Moreover, admiralty courts appear initially to have sat on each shore. The western shore officers were recommissioned in 1696, and presumably thereafter served for the entire province since there are no further references to the eastern shore court. An act "for the Punishment of Privateers and Pyrates," passed by the General Assembly in 1699, specified crimes within the jurisdiction of the court. These included "all Treasons, Felonies, Pyracies, Robberies Murthers or Confederacys Comitted . . . upon the Sea" or any other waterway under the Admiralty Court's jurisdiction.

Following the restoration of the proprietary government, no admiralty court sat in Maryland until Frederick's sixth Lord Baltimore commissioned Horatio Sharpe a vice admiral in 1756. His successor, Robert Eden renewed the commission. The court's jurisdiction included contracts, accounts, wages, treason, piracy, felonies, fugitives, mayhem, and bottomry (cases in which a shipowner put the ship up as security for a loan).

The Constitution of 1776 established an admiralty court to try capture and seizures made and brought into Maryland ports. The court's three officers—the judge, a register, and a marshal—tried about twelve cases per year during the revolutionary period. The annual caseload increased to roughly eighteen after the war, when the court assumed civil jurisdiction over seamen's wages and assaults. This civil jurisdiction appears to have been assumed on the basis of precedent rather than law, since the Constitution of 1776 did not specifically grant such jurisdiction to the Admiralty Court and no statute granting it has been found.

The state admiralty court functioned until 1789, when the U.S. Constitution assigned admiralty jurisdiction to the federal courts. Benjamin Nicholson, who had served as the judge of Maryland's admiralty court since 1776, argued that neither state nor federal law had abolished his office and that the federal government had no jurisdiction over intrastate admiralty matters. He remained in office until 1790, when he resigned to become chief judge of Baltimore Town. The state, however, refused to pay his salary as judge of the Admiralty Court after 1789. The General Court found for his widow when she sued for the thirteen months unpaid salary, affirming his arguments, so it could be said that the Admiralty Court existed in Maryland, albeit without a judge or proceedings, until the Constitution of 1851 omitted the office.

Series Description

MSA S0117 Minutes, 1754–1782. 1 cubic ft.

Clerk's record of Court proceedings. Entries consist of date, those present, an account of the court's general business. Records exist as originals and as photostatic copies. Originals were formerly part of the Peter Force Collection. Also available on microfilm for 1754–1775, MSA SM0106.

MSA S0116 Court papers, 1776–1812. 2 cubic ft.

Case documents. Contains four cases, possibly from Baltimore County Court, which postdate the 1789 demise of the Admiralty Court in Maryland. Papers are indexed by the Maryland Indexes Admiralty Court Papers Index series [MSA S1471].

II. Colonial Offices & Commissions

MSA SH 38 Secretary in Maryland 1634–1776

The Secretary in Maryland functioned primarily as clerk for the governor and council. He recorded their proceedings, which included land grants and official appointments, and maintained essential papers. The secretary also collected proprietary revenue and issued marriage licenses. After 1644 he had custody of the lesser seal of the Province. The secretary held several other titles in the seventeenth century, including surveyor general, attorney general, commissary general, naval officer, and rent roll keeper. Colonial growth resulted in the duties associated with these titles being assigned to separate offices by 1689.

When the royal government was established in Maryland in 1692, the crown commissioned Sir Thomas Lawrence as secretary. He, like other royal officers, had no proprietary duties, but over the objections of the Lord Proprietor's agent and receiver general, Lawrence took possession of the patent records and assumed the Land Office duties of the former proprietary secretary. Lawrence departed for England in 1706 after appointing Col. Philemon Lloyd as his deputy. Thereafter the secretariat was divided between a principal secretary in England and a deputy secretary in Maryland. The deputy did the work and received the fees generated by the office, paying a fixed sum to the principal secretary as a sinecure.

When the proprietary government was restored in 1715, Thomas Beake, who had been commissioned as principal secretary in 1714 by Queen Anne, was retained, but the duties of the office were shared with the deputy secretary. In 1717 the deputy resumed the secretary's Land Office duties. The position of judge of the Land Office became a separate office of profit in 1738.

The office of Secretary in Maryland remained lucrative despite its diminished power and importance. Part of the office's monetary value lay in the secretary's power to appoint clerks of county courts. The governor originally had the power to appoint these officers, but after 1682/83 it rested with the secretary. Despite threats from the crown during the royal period and continuous protests from citizens, the secretary commonly sold clerkships to the highest bidder. Clerks thus appointed were often incompetent and frequently overcharged on fees. After 1738/39 the secretary could only appoint court clerks with gubernatorial approval, but the sale of clerkships seems to have continued unabated until the Constitution of 1776 abolished the secretary's office.

Series Description

MSA S0244 Tax lists, 1721–1771. 1.5 cubic ft.

Lists of taxable persons. A poll tax was levied upon male freemen, male servants, and male and female slaves over sixteen years of age. Lists were prepared annually by the constable of each hundred in a county and returned to the county sheriff, who sent a copy to the secretary. Some photostatic copies. Records are arranged by county. Also available on microfilm for Baltimore County Hundreds, 1737–1773, MdHR M1560.

MSA SH 20 Naval Officer 1676–1789

Entering and clearing vessels in Maryland ports, as well as collecting duties and customs, were at first part of the responsibilities of the provincial secretary. Beginning in the early 1670s another officer, often the county sheriff, acted for the secretary in naval matters in remote locations. In 1676 the lord proprietor separated the functions of the Naval Officer from those of the secretary and appointed three officers to serve in three districts—Patuxent, North Potomac, and Pocomoke.

Throughout most of the colonial period, the distinction between proprietary and provincial revenue tended to be blurred. During the royal period, however, the need for careful separation of the two kinds of revenue required the appointment of two sets of officers. Four provincial naval officers served in the original districts and in Cecil County, and paid the proceeds of provincial duties to the treasurer of their respective shore. All other collections were paid to the proprietary agent and receiver general or, during the royal administration, to the crown receiver. Two proprietary officers, in Annapolis and Oxford, collected those duties that were part of the proprietor's income. After the proprietor's restoration in 1715, the two proprietary officers were dismissed and the four provincial incumbents collected proprietary revenue as well. The position of naval officer for Cecil County was abolished prior to 1754.

Naval officers continued to serve throughout the rest of the colonial period. Their offices were continued by the Constitution of 1776, and the next year the governor appointed eight naval officers to control merchant trading and to collect customs and duties throughout the State. The office was abolished by the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789.

Series Description

MSA S0204 Port of entry record, 1742–1759. 1.5 cubic ft.

Three volumes listing ships entering port in the Oxford, Patuxent, and Annapolis districts. The entries give the name of the vessel and its master, the type of rigging, tonnage, number of crew and guns, where and when built, where and when registered, and the owner's name. In addition to information on ships, the volumes

include a general description of each ship's cargo, noting where it was shipped from as well as where and when a bond was given. Also contains documentation on ships clearing port, which in addition to recording the same categories of information as during entry lists where ships were bound and when they cleared port.

MSA S0205 General file, 1761–1795. 3 cubic ft.

Series contains a variety of information recorded by the Naval Officer, including ship entrances and clearances and records of duties paid. "Accounts of Duties" summarize all duties paid by a vessel. The record lists the name of the vessel and its master, records the type of duty paid, the amount, and has a sworn oath by the Naval Officer. "Lighthouse duties" are monies appropriated toward the building of lighthouses. They list the date, name of vessel and its master, tonnage, amount of duty (in pounds sterling), and the sworn oath of the Naval Officer. "Import duties" are more cargo-specific; they list the gallons, pounds, and tons of different kinds of merchandise.

Amounts are listed in cash and bonds. A vessel was granted a 25 percent abatement if duties were paid with "imported cash." Also includes folders of "Account of Drawback" (refunds), which list all duties paid by a vessel, "drawbacks granted," the date, and against which duty, and which cargo the drawback had been allowed. Records of "Registers Granted" are annual shipping permits that list the date, vessel name, taxes, and amount. "Accounts with Maryland" list the date, for what paid, and the amount in pounds sterling, cash, and/or bonds. Folders are arranged by districts.

MSA S0206 Ship manifest, 1760–1790. 8 cubic ft.

Lists of cargo, giving quantity and contents for both imports and exports. Entries also include the name of the vessel and its master. Information recorded in columns are "individual mark" (usually 2 or 3 letters), gross tonnage, and warehouse. Some manifests are in the form of a written note. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0207 Cash book, 1695–1702. .5 cubic ft.

Seventeen pages recording the date, what and from whom received, and the amount in pounds sterling. Probably a record of the Cecil County Naval Officer. Bound with CECIL COUNTY COURT Judgment Record series [MSA C0623] and Land Record series [MSA C0626].

MSA S1006 Ships trading in Maryland, 1689–1694. 1.5 cubic ft.

Photostats of lists indicating vessel name, home port, English or foreign-built, how rigged, tonnage, number of guns, master's name, date of entry, bond of navigation given in plantation, certificate of bond given in England, and from what place, cargo, when cleared, where bound, and remarks. Originals held by the Library of Congress.

MSA SH 20 Commissioners to Inspect Public Records 1716–1768?

The Commissioners to Inspect Public Records were appointed by an act of the General Assembly in 1716. Mandated to assess the condition of records at the Land

Office, secretary's office, commissary, and county courts, the commission was empowered to hire clerks and bookbinders to transcribe and repair volumes.

The original commission was composed of John Beale, Joseph Hill, Benjamin Tasker, and Samuel Young. In 1722 the General Assembly appointed Daniel Dulany and Thomas Bordley to the commission after Joseph Hill became ill. The act appointing Dulany and Bordley also provided for hiring clerks and bookbinders provided a majority of the commissioners agreed (*Laws of 1722*, ch. 14).

No records exist of commission activities prior to 1724. Beginning 13 June 1724, however, the commission kept minutes of its meetings. Initially, meetings were held daily, but by the end of July they met less frequently. The group met only twice in 1729, the last year minutes were kept. Minutes reveal much about the nature of commission business. Ordering the transcription and indexing of certain volumes, the commissioners served as a quality control panel overseeing the transcribers, proofreaders, and bookbinders. They, in turn, reported to the commissioners on their progress and sought their advice as problems arose. Listed within the minutes are the volumes completed. The minutes also refer to the bonds required of the commissioners and all parties involved in the transcription process.

In 1742 a supplement to the 1716 act prohibited clerks from keeping records until they gave bond (*Laws of 1742*, ch. 10). Sometime after 1742 the commission ceased to function. In the lower house of the General Assembly motions to revive the activities of the former commission were tabled in 1766 and again in 1768.

Series Description

MSA S0994 Minutes, 1724–1729. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded proceedings of meetings of the commissioners. Includes bonds, oaths, and accounts. Also available on microfilm, [MSA SM0110].

MSA SH 18 Commissioners for Emitting Bills of Credit 1733–1779

To provide Maryland with an additional exchange medium, as well as a device with which to improve the quality of tobacco, the General Assembly passed the paper currency act in 1733 (*Laws of 1733*, ch. 6). The act authorized the governor to appoint a three-member commission to number, sign, and issue 90,000 worth of bills on condition that one third be paid off and cancelled within fifteen years and the remaining two thirds within thirty years. Additionally, three trustees in London managed a sinking fund to support the value of the paper money. Using monies raised by a fifteen-shilling export tax on hogsheads of tobacco, the trustees invested in capital stock of the Bank of England. As the bills were redeemed, the trustees sold as much stock as was necessary to pay for them. Various distribution methods were employed to place the bills in circulation. Every county was issued 500 for the construction of a jail and county justices distributed 30 shillings per taxable on the condition that the owner agree to burn 150 pounds of trash tobacco. An additional 3,000 was ear-marked for the construction of the governor's house in Annapolis.

While the bills of credit were meant to serve as a circulation medium, their use was restricted to the payment of public debts such as fines and levies. Moreover, when the threat of war loomed in the early 1740s, the legislature, wary of raising taxes, issued bills of credit to provision Maryland troops sent to Columbia and Canada. To cover the additional costs, the tobacco tax was augmented by levies on Irish servants, liquor, and the importation of slaves and horses. Muster rolls, used by the commissioners as a record of payment, provide a list of Maryland soldiers involved in the French and Indian War [MSA S0960].

Redemption of the first emission in 1766 removed the original bills from circulation, but that same year new paper money was issued for the colony (*Laws of 1766*, ch. 26). This time, however, the bills were designated as hard currency and denominated in dollars, rather than as bills of credit denominated in English pounds.

The Constitution of 1776 continued the office with the commissioners being appointed by the House of Delegates, but its duties were later assigned to the Treasurer of the Western Shore (*Laws of 1779*, ch. 38). During and after the Revolution, Maryland's inability to obtain monies from the sinking fund maintained by the London trustees led to a series of litigations known as the Bank Stock cases. Correspondence concerning those cases can be found in the Maryland State Papers Bank Stock Correspondence series [MSA SM0133] and the Blue Book series [MSA S0990].

Series Description

MSA S0747 Accounts with sheriffs, 1756–1758. .5 cubic ft.

Record of ordinary licenses and duties on wheeled carriages and billiard tables. Also available on microfilm, [MSA SM0178].

MSA S0748 Bond record, 1770–1776. .5 cubic ft.

Recorded bonds of persons to whom bills of credit were issued. Bonds were issued with the stipulation that half their value had to be repaid within one year, plus four percent annual interest in either bills of credit, gold, or silver. With that accomplished, the debt was considered paid-in-full.

MSA S0749 Interest book, 1739–1765. .5 cubic ft.

Accounts of interest received and disbursed from emission of bills authorized by *Laws of 1733*, ch. 6.

MSA S0750 Iron chest accounts, 1734–1767. .5 cubic ft.

Accounts of money deposited and withdrawn from the office of the commissioners. So called because they were kept in a large iron chest with three different locks, one for each commissioner in accordance with *Laws of 1733*, ch. 6. Also available on microfilm, [MSA SM 0177].

MSA S0751 Journal, 1770–1779. 1 cubic ft.

Monthly record of emissions made and annual interest due and received. Entries consist of date, to whom paid or from whom received, and amount. Cross-referenced by page number to the Ledger series [MSA S0752]. Arranged chronologically.

MSA S0753 Bills issued, 1734–1756. .5 cubic ft.

Record of bills of credit "perfected" (completed) in accordance with *Laws of 1733*, ch. 6. Entries list bills by individual number, volume, and amount. Arranged chronologically by bill denomination. Indexed.

MSA S0752 Ledger, 1767–1779. 1.5 cubic ft.

Record of accounts listed in the Journal series [MSA S0751]. Entries consist of date, account name, reason for debit or credit, and amount. Cross-referenced by page number to the Journals. Arranged by individual account. Indexed.

MSA S0754 Bills of credit, unsigned, n.d. 25 cubic ft.

Unissued bills of credit. Arranged by denomination.

MSA S0960 Colonial payroll, 1767–1776. .5 cubic ft.

Photostats of muster and pay rolls copied from the Ledger series [MSA S0752]. Entries consist of date, mustering officer, soldier, amount paid, and page number cross-reference to the Journal series [MSA S0751]. See also muster records located in the Tax Papers series [MSA S1494]. Arranged by unit.

MSA S1494 Tax papers, 1746–1767. .5 cubic ft.

Primarily records pertaining to excise taxes collected by county officials on imported liquor. Also contains records of money distributed to mustering officers in 1746 for the purpose of raising an army for an "expedition to Canada." Commissioners for Emitting Bills of Credit addressed variously as "Commissioners of Paper Currency" and "Commissioners of Loan Office." See also the Colonial Payroll series [MSA S0960].

NOTES

1. A two-year grant from the National Historical Records and Publications Commission (NHPRC) funds the current project. In addition, the project benefits from federal dollars spent more than fifty years ago. As part of the New Deal, the Historical Records Survey (HRS) of the Works Project Administration (WPA) located, arranged, and cataloged thousands of Maryland records. Then, in the 1970s, Maryland State Archivist, Edward C. Papenfuse, recognized the value of the work done by the HRS and proposed a model for integrating HRS methodology and modern descriptive standards. Therefore, the present project can be seen both as a continuation of work begun more than half a century ago and as a fulfillment of the potential of the HRS work, which could only be fully realized with the advent of modern computer and information networking technologies.

Parceling Out Land in the Vicinity of Baltimore: 1632–1796, Part 1

GARRETT POWER

The following essay describes the parceling out of land in the vicinity of Baltimore between 1632 and 1796. The study provides a textual, graphic, and pictorial "chain of title" from first patent to building lot. It details who acquired which parcels when, over an era beginning with the establishment of the Maryland colony and ending with the incorporation of Baltimore City.

This project came about by accident while I was preparing a study of leasehold tenure in Baltimore. My analysis was based upon eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reports of cases adjudged in the Maryland Court of Appeals[1] and upon nineteenth-century legal treatises.[2]

When I sought to determine who owned the land prior to the Revolution, I looked to the standard works of J. Thomas Scharf. Colonel Scharf put together in the second half of the nineteenth century a compendium of the "scattered and fragmentary facts" concerning Baltimore City and County.[3] Therein I found a considerable amount of disjointed and sometimes inconsistent information concerning land ownership. But I recognized that the case reports and legal treatises provide an alternative view of the same events. By combining and comparing the Scharf materials and the legal material I was able to discern the best evidence of the chain of title.

Later, while rummaging in the map collection of the Maryland Historical Society, I came upon a survey of some of the first land patents in the Baltimore region prepared by George Gouldsmith Presbury in 1786. Presbury overlaid the sometimes conflicting metes and bounds and included a wealth of information in his notes. Working with the chain of title, and using the Presbury Plat to maintain a sense of place, I found myself in a position to set the record straight. And in the final analysis the links in this chain then could be verified in the land records found in the Maryland State Archives.

The task of describing how two thousand acres were parceled out over almost two hundred years is difficult. I try to do the job by impressing in the reader's mind the dimensions of time, place, and personalities. The following text is ordered chronologically with reminders of the outside events shaping the times—the Catholic oppression and Glorious Revolution, the growth of the Maryland economy

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in wheat and iron, Scots-Irish migration from central Pennsylvania to Baltimore, and the American Revolution. Maps and pictures project a sense of place, even after reclamation projects began to change the lay of the land and shape of the shoreline. And enough genealogical information is included to permit the careful reader to distinguish between successive generations of Carrolls, Howards, Fells, Moales, and Smiths.

For students of the institution of property this essay will place the building blocks (patents, grants, escheats, adverse possessions, entailments, and leaseholds) on their first American footing. For observers of the human condition there is a richer drama beneath the surface. We see the haughty Carrolls becoming the richest family in the New World by operating Lord Baltimore's land office to their own advantage—insider trading eighteenth-century style. The activities of the brothers Fell call to mind the stereotype of Quaker businessmen, given to good works in public matters but sharp traders in private affairs. Finally, consider the promise of this new land as evidenced by the lyrical quality of the first place names—David's Fancy, Lunn's Lott, Whetstone Point, Mountney's Neck, and best of all, Bold Venture, which we will see was literally stuck in the mud of the harbor basin.

Establishment of the Maryland Colony. Early in the seventeenth century King James I promoted the settlement of North America. Among the adventurers was George Calvert who visited twice with a view toward locating land suitable for a colony. Calvert was the son of a Yorkshire landowner. In 1625, as a reward for loyal service, the Crown had granted him the title of Lord Baltimore and a twenty-three-hundred-acre barony in Ireland. But the rents he received were insufficient for his ambition; the prospect of riches in the New World remained irresistible.[4]

In 1632, after several false starts (and the death of both of the first principals), King Charles I granted to George's eldest son and heir, Cecilius Calvert, the land north of the Virginia settlement. The charter made the second Lord Baltimore "monarch of all he surveyed"—absolute lord and proprietor of the province and the head of its government. Maryland's first proprietor was empowered to create a feudal dynasty in the wilderness.[5]

Proprietary Land Grants. The profitable course for Lord Baltimore was to encourage settlement by those who would bring the new colony into agricultural productivity. To promote immigration and settlement, Calvert granted headright allotments of the sort employed in Virginia. He first offered one thousand acres of land to gentlemen who would transport five yeoman of working age to the new colony but by 1652 had reduced the allotment to fifty acres for every such person imported. A secondary market developed in which headright allotments were bought, sold, and pooled, thereby entitling the holders to patents of two hundred, three hundred, and four hundred acres.[6]

At first no cash payment was required for the acquisition of land. The proprietor took his profits through quit-rents and alienation fines. Rents were due in perpetuity at a rate of four shillings per hundred acres, per annum; fines, equivalent to one year's rent, were payable every time the land changed hands.[7]

Patents in the Baltimore Vicinity. The establishment of Baltimore County in 1659 created a flurry of interest in the unsettled land surrounding the northwest branch of the Patapsco River.[8] The first settler may have been David Jones, who in 1661 staked a claim to three hundred eighty acres called Jones his Range (hereinafter Jones' Range) on the east side of the freshet that flowed into the basin from the north (map 1). He built a residence on the bank and gave his name to the Jones Falls. Just to the east, Alexander Mountney received a patent in 1663 to the two-hundred-acre Mountney's Neck, which straddled a stream from the northeast that came to be called Harford Run. To the south and east, Long Island Point, a one-hundred-acre tract which hooked west into the basin, was first patented to William Poultney in 1671. On the east side of that peninsula, John Copus in 1683 received a grant of one hundred acres soon to be known as Copus Harbour.[9]

The most expansive grant was the result of a 1668 resurvey of five hundred fifty acres for Thomas Cole, a tract cut in half by the Jones Falls and including Jones' Range. Called Cole's Harbour, it was bounded to the south by about one-half mile of Patapsco waterfront. Cole apparently put the parcel together by acquiring on the private market the warrants for six headright allotments of fifty acres each (originally claimed for transporting settlers) and adding to it an estimated two hundred acres of Jones' Range.[10]

Cole may have thought Jones's tract was up for grabs because David Jones had not obtained a warrant on the land he had occupied since 1661. Under the procedures adopted by the Lord Proprietor, a warrant ordering a survey of the appropriate number of acres was the preliminary step in obtaining a patent. Only after a certificate of survey had been returned would the proprietor's agent issue a patent. From the first, speculators like Jones took up surveyed land but stopped short of obtaining a patent—thereby avoiding payment of the annual quit-rent of four shillings per hundred acres. To protect their seniority they relied on a clause common to all warrants which precluded the staking of a claim to land previously surveyed. But Jones did not get around to obtaining a warrant until 1677 (and his patent in 1678), long after the patent for Cole's Harbour. His title to Jones' Range may have been junior to Thomas Cole's patent to Cole's Harbour.[11]

West of Cole's Harbour lay land more suitable for agriculture. Two hundred acres, more or less, had been patented there to Edward Lunn in 1673 and called Lunn's Lott. Adjoining it to the south was Timberneck, two hundred acres with frontage on the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River patented to John Howard of Anne Arundel County in 1668.[12]

Patents were also issued on the peninsula between the northwest and middle branches of the Patapsco. In 1668 Upton Court, containing five hundred acres, was patented to David Poole. In 1672 David Williams received one hundred acres—David's Fancy—between Upton Court to the east and John Howard's Timberneck to the west. And in 1661 fifty acres called Whetstone Point at the tip of the peninsula had been patented to Charles Gorsuch. These first patents, which turned out to be within the precincts of Baltimore, are shown on Map 1.[13]

The State of Land Titles. Title to these lands was by no means settled, for the system of granting patents led to irregularities. Monuments were perishable, surveys careless, and boundaries often in doubt. Would-be landowners sometimes bribed the surveyor to give them a "surplusage."[14]

Such vagaries led to an enormous number of boundary disputes in the proprietary period. A landholder discovering that a survey encroached on his parcel might enter a caveat with the proper official to prevent issuance of the patent; if he missed this opportunity the patent was issued and the marketability of title to the disputed strip was left in doubt.[15] Litigation concerning the boundaries between Mountney's Neck, Cole's Harbour, Lunn's Lott, Timberneck, and David's Fancy persisted into the early nineteenth century.[16]

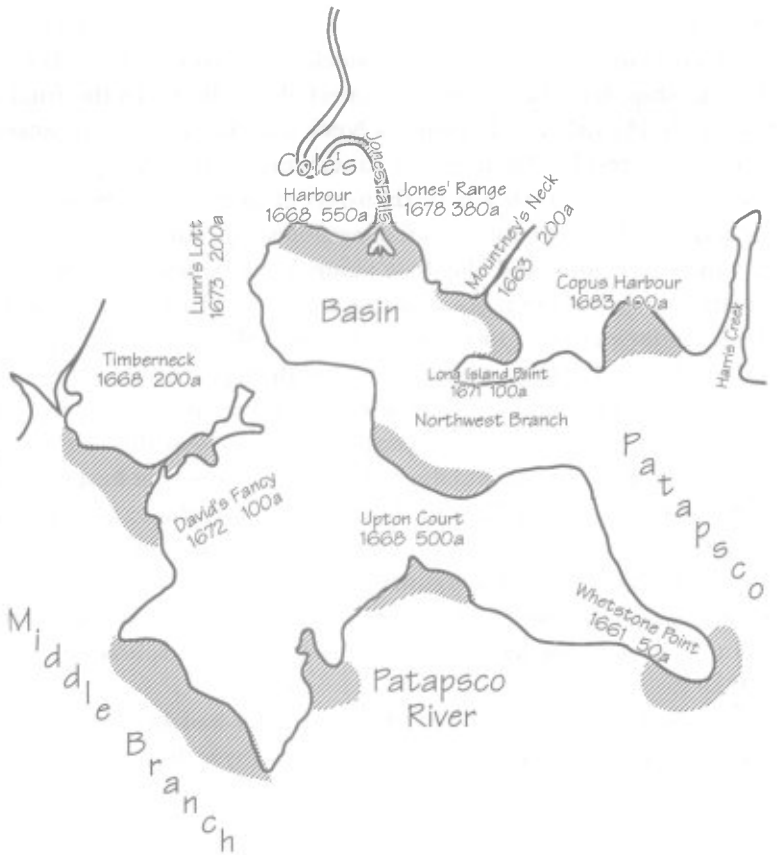
Even after a marketable patent was issued, title questions lingered. All grants were made subject to "conditions of plantation." Among these conditions were requirements that the taker-up pay the annual quit-rent and a fine for alienation for each subsequent transfer. If these sums went unpaid, the parcel might revert to the proprietor.[17]

Further complicating land titles was a provision in the charter which gave Lord Baltimore the right of escheat when a patentee died without a will and without heirs. In a wilderness populated by semi-literate people without known relatives this occurred with some frequency. Moreover, in practice the doctrine of escheat was loosely applied to all instances in which land returned to the proprietor—whether because of failure of issue or violation of condition. There is some evidence that the lands of both David Jones and David Williams escheated to the land office.[18]

Political events also confounded the titles to Maryland lands. In 1684 the incumbent proprietor, Roman Catholic Charles Calvert, repatriated to England in an effort to protect his interests from Protestant intrigues. He was less than successful. In 1689, following the Glorious Revolution, the Crown deposed the third Lord Baltimore of his Maryland sovereignty, leaving him with nothing but his right in the soil. Calvert stayed in England, appointing co-religionist Henry Darnall as his chief agent and delegating to him the operation of a land office.[19]

James Todd's Consolidation and Subdivision. When in 1692 Darnall took over operation of the land office, most of what was to become the precinct of Baltimore remained vacant. Perhaps Lunn's Lott was being cultivated to the west, but north of the basin lay seven rolling clay hills unsuited to agriculture. On the other hand, this land did have water power from the Jones Falls and water frontage on the basin of the northwest branch of the Patapsco River. Farmers were growing wheat in the interior, creating a need for a grist mill and a port from which to ship flour to England. Territory to the north of the basin might prove a good investment after all.

Such was the lay of the land when in 1695 James Todd arrived. The historical records tells us little about Todd except that he was a gentlemen of Baltimore County with a wife named Penelope, but the land records say a great deal. Between



Map 1: Seventeenth-century patents in the vicinity of what later became Baltimore Town.

1695 and 1701 he first acquired all of the land north of the Baltimore basin, then parceled it out among various purchasers.

James Todd claimed to be "seized in fee simple" of three tracts of land. One was called Todd's Range, originally laid out for five hundred ten acres; another was the two-hundred-acre Mountney's Neck. The third was called Bold Venture, said to contain one hundred sixty acres. The three tracts were contiguous. Since Todd made his acquisitions prior to 1715, when the public registry of the ownership of land was first mandated by the Assembly, it is unclear how he consolidated the parcels.[20]

Todd's Range was a 1698 resurvey of Cole's Harbour with the size reduced from five hundred fifty to five hundred ten acres. Left unexplained was the missing link in the chain of title between Cole and Todd, though there is some evidence that Todd was in possession "under authority of his mother under some contract, not under any other title."[21]

James Todd received a deed from Robert Blunt to the two-hundred-acre Mountney's Neck in 1695, but Blunt's claim to title was itself undocumented. Some

documents of title were in evidence—Alexander Mountney's original patent from 1663 and a deed from Samuel and Ann Wheeler to David Jones in 1685. These indicia of ownership, however, were unconnected to Blunt. In the final analysis the strength of Todd's title to Mountney's Neck was that he took possession, and no successors in interest to Mountney or Jones were forthcoming.[22]

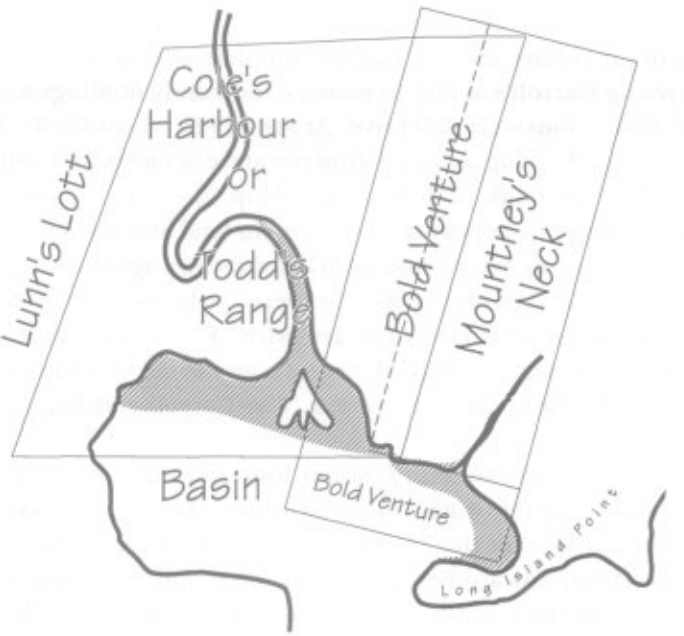
The patent to Bold Venture was of then-recent origin. Its one hundred sixty acres were in the shape of a boot, with the legging slipped in between Mountney's Neck and Cole's Harbour and the foot submerged beneath the waters of the Northwest Branch. It had been granted to John Oulton in 1695 and, as was often the case, its boundaries overlapped those of its neighbors. Mountney's Neck was originally described as having a width of one hundred perches, but apparently the surveyor laid out a tract with a width of one hundred forty perches. With the legging of Bold Venture the surveyor purported to reclaim this "surplusage" for Oulton, and then some.[23] Todd's claim to Bold Venture was at best dubious. The historical record indicates that Captain John Oulton was still very much alive and still interested in the patent; in 1707 he would obtain a warrant of resurvey for the tract. No evidence has been found to link Oulton to James Todd.[24] By 1701 James Todd had pretensions to nine-hundred-odd acres of land lying to the north of the harbor basin. The patents he may or may not have consolidated are roughly plotted in Map 2.

Todd immediately began to sunder that which he had brought together. In March of that year he transferred approximately three hundred acres to John Hurst. The parcel was said to consist of one hundred thirty-five and one-half acres of Cole's Harbour which lay to the east of the Jones Falls plus a waterfront portion of Mountney's Neck estimated at one hundred sixty-four and one-half acres. The deed to Hurst carved his parcel by metes and bounds out of Cole's Harbour and Mountney's Neck without reference to Bold Venture.

In June 1701 James Todd transferred the residue of Todd's Range, Mountney's Neck, and all of Bold Venture to Charles Carroll. Since the Hurst claim was prior and more explicit, Carroll presumably had no rights in the fast land portions of Bold Venture waterfront; Carroll's Bold Venture rights if any were in the submerged portion.[25]

This division, which laid the groundwork for the subsequent parceling out of eighteenth-century Baltimore, is depicted in Map 3. Carroll's portion of Todd's Range was destined to become the location of Baltimore Town and the Hurst tract to become the site of Jones Town, commonly called Old Town.

Charles Carroll the Settler. Charles Carroll, an Irish Catholic gentleman, had come to Maryland in 1688 to serve as the proprietor's attorney general. In 1689, soon after his arrival in Maryland, he lost his job and political rights to the Protestant government. Thereafter he devoted his considerable energies and ambitions to getting rich as a land speculator. In these speculations he was probably aided by his father-in-law, Henry Darnall, who operated Lord Baltimore's land office. Darnall himself had been richly rewarded over the years with eighteen thousand acres of Maryland land.[26]



Map 2: Contiguous tracts claimed by James Todd in 1701.

Charles Carroll the Settler showed vision in his selection of the parcel he bought from Todd—over the next century it would become a shipping and manufacturing center—but in the short term the holding produced little, if any, return on the investment. In 1711 Carroll did manage to sell thirty-one acres to Jonathan Hanson, who built a strong dam across the falls and put up a substantial mill that came to be called Hanson's Improvement. Other than Hanson the only inhabitant on the lands on the west bank appears to have been Carroll's overseer, John Flemming, who, farther to the west, lived on and cultivated a quarter section of tobacco until about 1718.[27] Hanson's Improvement and Flemming's homestead are indicated on Map 3.

Carroll the Settler continued to speculate in Maryland land. In this he was immeasurably aided when, in 1712, he succeeded his deceased father-in-law as the Lord Proprietor's land agent. That same year Charles Calvert, still residing in England, sent Carroll instructions ordering him to crack down on the speculation in warrants and other practices which deprived the proprietor of his revenues. Reports are that nothing happened.[28]

Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Charles Carroll the Settler died in 1720, leaving a wife and four children: Charles Carroll of Annapolis (his legal heir), two daughters, and another son, Daniel Carroll. The Settler's estate was approximately ninety thousand pounds sterling and included sixty thousand acres of land which passed to the brothers as tenants in common. Among the landholdings was the claim to the approximately five hundred acres on the north shore of the Patapsco Basin. In 1723 Charles Carroll of Annapolis attained majority and assumed control of the

family's fortune. Since the Maryland Assembly excluded Catholics from the political life of the colony, the task had his complete attention.[29]

A test of young Carroll's ability to manage the family holdings was not long in coming. His first actions were defensive. Around 1725 Edward Fell, a Quaker from Lancashire, England, set up a store within the ancient metes and bounds of Cole's Harbour on the east bank of Jones Falls (Map 3). Fell was an "enterprising land-hunter" looking for opportunities to obtain land at a discount.[30]

Under the procedures established by his "Lordship's agent for management of land affairs within the Province," land discovered to be escheat would be patented to the discoverer at one-third the ordinary price. Fell sought escheat warrants to both the waterfront portion of Bold Venture and to all of Cole's Harbour. He employed Richard Gist to prepare surveys. The Carroll entitlement was in question.[31]

Gist's resurvey of Bold Venture laid out four and three-quarter acres of land lying beneath the navigable waters of the Northwest Branch. Notwithstanding the avouchment in the warrant that the parcel, which had come to be known as Fell's Footing, was escheat, Edward Fell never paid the required portion of the value of the land to consummate his title; no patent was ever issued. For whatever reason, Fell had come to accept that no title had devolved by escheat on the Lord Proprietor.[32]

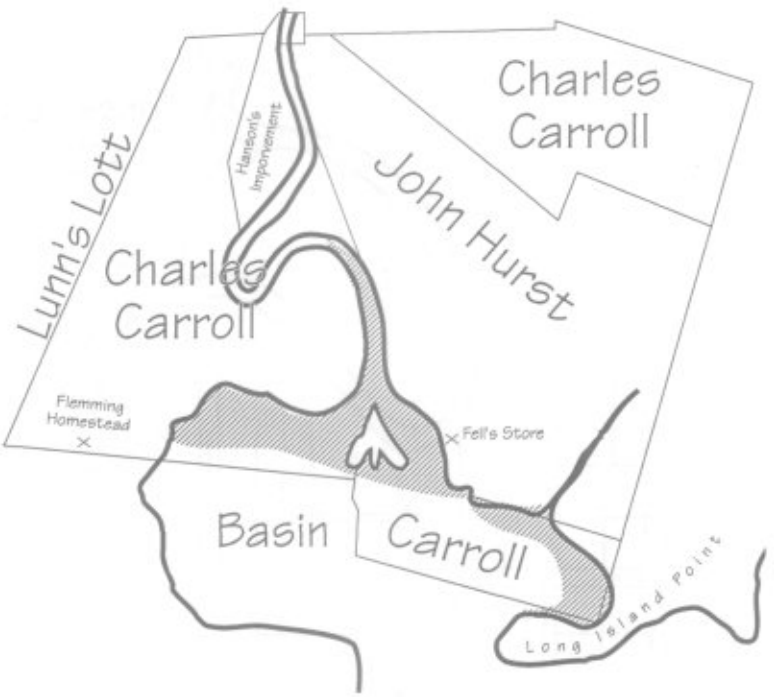
Edward Fell was more steadfast in his claim to Cole's Harbour. Return of the Gist survey showed that the sole improvements were three dwellings, a mill, tobacco houses, and orchards, and that the land was "one-half cleared and of middling quality." But when Fell asked the judge of the land office to declare the land to be escheat, Charles Carroll of Annapolis entered a caveat.[33]

Details concerning the dispute between Carroll and Fell have not been found, but by working with collateral sources it is possible to lay out the issues involved. The first link in the chain of title was the 1668 patent to Thomas Cole. If Cole died owning the lands, intestate without heirs, the lands in question were subject to escheat and title would have fallen back to the proprietor.[34]

The first link in Carroll's chain of title was a 1700 patent of resurvey to James Todd, and there was no evidence of record that Cole had assigned his rights to Todd. Hence, Carroll's chain of record title to Cole's Harbour was broken by a missing link; if it could not be filled, Fell would be entitled to a warrant of escheat to Cole's Harbour.[35]

Under a prevailing legal fiction of the day, however, proof of twenty years possession by Carroll's predecessors in title created a presumption of validity of the patent to Todd's Range. By proving such uninterrupted possession, Carroll perfected his title, and the issued caveat denied Edward Fell his escheat warrant.[36]

Establishment of Baltimore Town. While that dispute was still in litigation, Charles Carroll of Annapolis made his second move. In 1729 he joined with eight of the leading men of Baltimore County in petitioning the upper house of the Assembly, the governor's council, "for building of a Town, on the North side of Patapsco River on land supposed to belong to Messrs. Charles and Daniel Carroll." The petition



Map 3: Todd subdivision 1701.

was granted, and Carroll agreed on behalf of himself and his brother to subdivide sixty acres and to sell the lots at a price of forty shillings per acre.[37]

The erection of towns was authorized by a 1683 Act of the Assembly for the "procuring of money and the advancement of trade." The machinery of town government was to consist of seven commissioners, whose first duty was to select land and divide it into lots with some open space left for streets and lanes, churches, market houses, and other public buildings. The purchase money was paid directly to the owner of the land. Purchasers were required to erect an improvement within a specified period under penalty of forfeiture. The proprietor's income came from an annual quit-rent of one penny charged to each lot.[38]

The Commissioners laid out Baltimore Town west of the Jones Falls in the shape of an Indian arrowhead pointed west. It was traversed by three streets: Long Street (now Baltimore Street) running east and west and intersected at right angles by Calvert and Forest streets (now Charles Street). A number of paper streets and alleys were added, creating a gridiron bordered by sixty lots of approximately one acre each (Map 4).[39]

In 1730 lots were put up for sale, and as the owner of the property Charles Carroll had first choice. He took lot number forty-nine, the prime waterfront property next to the wharf at the foot of Calvert Street. Subsequent takers were charged a fixed price of forty shillings for each lot and required to build a substantial house within eighteen months. The lots toward the river were all disposed of within a

Map 4: Baltimore Town 1729; Jones Town 1732.

number of days, but many reverted to Carroll when the conditions of improvement went unmet, and some interior lots failed to sell. During the ensuing decade and through a number of resales, reversions and re-entries the lots were eventually dispensed.[40] . . . *to be continued.*

NOTES

1. Harrison v. Sterett, 4 H. & MCH. 540 (Md. 1774); Helms v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57 (Md. 1784); Smith and Purviances v. Maryland, 2 H. & McH. 244 (Md. 1788); Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 249 (Md. 1801); Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195 (Md. 1821); Cunningham v. Browning, 1 Bland 299 (Md. 1827); Giraud's

Lessee v. Hughes, 1 G. & J. 249 (Md. 1829); Dugan v. Baltimore, 5 G. & J. 357 (Md. 1833); Wilson's Lessee v. Inloes, 11 G. & J. 351 (Md. 1840); Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430 (Md. 1844); Wilson's Lessee v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121 (Md. 1847); Hammond v. Inloes, 4 Md. 138 (1853); Peterkin v. Inloes, 4 Md. 175 (1853); Garitee v. Baltimore, 53 Md. 422 (Md. 1880).

2. John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant* (Baltimore: G. Dobbins & Murphy, 1808); John M'Henry, *The Ejectment Law of Maryland* (Frederick-town: Herald Press, 1822); Lewis Mayer, *Ground Rents in Maryland* (Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 1883).

3. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, (1874; [repr.] 2 vols. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books Inc., 1989), 1:v; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, (1881; [repr.] Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971).

4. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 3–5.

5. Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1885), pp. 8–13; Mayer, *Ground Rents*, pp. 9–12.

6. J. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, p. 30; Mayer, *Ground Rents*, pp. 12–20; Gregory A. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 1–27; Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland 1720–1765*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1913), passim.

7. Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 16–18.

8. "Baltimore County at one time embraced all of the province lying around the head of the bay, from the Patapsco river on the west to Chester river on the east, and included the present counties of Carroll, Harford, Cecil, Baltimore and probably Kent" (Wilhelm, *Local Institutions*, p. 374); Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:9.

9. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:9–10; Scharf, *History*, 1:48–50; David Jones, Jones his Range, 1678: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 20, folio 8, Maryland State Archives (hereafter MSA). Alexander Mountney, Mountney' s Neck, 1663: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 5, folio 376, MSA. William Poultney, Long Island Point, 1671: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 16, folio 223, MSA. John Copus, Copus Harbour, 1684: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber IB & IL No. C, folio 62, MSA.

10. Scharf, *History*, 1:48–50. Thomas Cole, Cole's Harbour, 1668: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 12, folio 134, MSA.

11. Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 9–10, 16, 60–64; M'Henry, *Ejectment Law of Maryland*, p. 30; Mayer, *Ground Rents*, pp. 33–35; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:10; Scharf, *History*, p. 49. Compare David Jones, Jones his Range, 1678: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 20, folio 8, MSA with Thomas Cole, Cole's Harbour, 1668: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 12, folio 134, MSA.

12. Edward Lunn, Lunns Lott, 1673: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 17, folio 189, MSA. John Howard, Timberneck, 1668: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 11, folio 32, MSA.

13. Scharf, *History*, 1:50. David Poole, Upton Court, 1668: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 14, folio 121, MSA. David Williams, David's Fancy, 1672: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 19, folios 380, 550, MSA.

Charles Gorsuch, Whetstone Point, 1661: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 5, folio 41, MSA.

14. Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 24–27; M'Henry, *Ejectment Law of Maryland*, p. 40. The description in the patent to Mountney's Neck, for example, began as follows: "Beginning at a marked red oak, by a little branch, and running up the north-west branch west-north-west one hundred perches, over above to a white oak standing on a point . . . ." See Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 436 (Md. 1844) or Alexander Mountney, Mountney's Neck, 1663: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 5, folio 376, MSA.

15. M'Henry, *Ejectment Law of Maryland*, pp. 33–34; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, p. 85; Gould, *Land System of Maryland*, p. 27.

16. See Helms v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57 (Md. 1784); Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 249 (Md. 1801); Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430 (Md. 1844).

17. Such a reversion apparently occurred when Charles Gorsuch vacated Whetstone Point. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 173–86; Gould, *Land System of Maryland*, pp. 28-30; Scharf, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 9-10. See Cunningham v. Browning, 1 Bland 299, 305–19 (Md. 1827) for a discussion of the operation of the land system in the proprietary period.

18. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 173-86; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 29-30; Cunningham v. Browning, 1 Bland 299, 305-7 (Md. 1827).

19. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 160–64.

20. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 436–38 (Md. 1844); Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, p. 30. James Todd, Todd's Range, 1700: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 41 folio 2, MSA. Recall Alexander Mountney, Mountney's Neck from note 9; John Oulton, Bold Venter, 1695: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 37 folio 443, MSA.

21. Howard v. Helms, 2 H. & McH. 57, 59, 78 (Md. 1784). Scharf records in some detail a prior 1696 patent called "Ely O'Carroll," which subdivided Cole's Harbour into two five-hundred-acre parcels, and transferred them to Daniel and Charles Carroll, the sons of Charles Carroll, the Settler. This account seems garbled in almost all respects. It involves twice the amount of land originally surveyed in Cole's Harbour, and the putative grantees were not to be born until 1702 and 1707 respectively. Moreover, there is no mention of a patent to Ely O'Carroll in the eighteenth-century litigation concerning title to the Carroll lands in Baltimore. For the time being it remains an unfollowed false scent. See Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:14–15, Scharf, *History*, 1:49.

22. Robert Blunt to James Todd, "Mowtines Land," Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber TR no. RA, folio 339, MSA; Samuel and Ann Wheeler to David Jones, Mountney's Neck, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber RM no. HS, folio 180, MSA; Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 435, 452, 489–94 (Md. 1844).

23. One perch equals 16.5 feet. A metes and bounds description of the patents is found in Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 436438, 441, 445, 457, 472 (Md. 1844).

24. Wilson's Lessee v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121, 144–45 (Md. 1847) contains a copy of the 1707 survey prepared by Richard Colegate in response to Oulton's warrant.

25. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 435, 438 (Md. 1844); see also Harrison v. Sterett, 4 H. & McH. 540, 541–42 (Md. 1774); Helms v. Howard, 2 H & McH. 57, 59–60(Md. 1784).

26. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 160–63; Brugger, *Maryland*, pp. 55–56; Sally D. Mason, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton and His Family, 1688–1832," in *"Anywhere So Long As There Be Freedom": Charles Carroll of Carrollton, His Family, & His Maryland* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 11–15.

27. Helms v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57, 61 (Md. 1784); Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:16, 19–20.

28. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 128–33; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 17–20.

29. Mason, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his Family, 1688–1832," pp. 16–18. Charles of Annapolis held a tenancy in common in the Baltimore lands with his younger brother Daniel, but held exclusive managerial power until his brother reached majority in 1728. Daniel died young in 1734, and Charles thereafter was entrusted with management of all of Daniel's estate for the benefit of Daniel's heirs. In 1754 Charles was required to reimburse one of these heirs the extraordinary amount of nine hundred pounds for breach of fiduciary responsibilities.

30. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:18.

31. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:18; Wilson v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121, 134–35 (Md. 1847); Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 173–77.

32. Wilson v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121, 135, 159 (Md. 1847).

33. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:18. The procedures for obtaining an escheat warrant and entering a caveat are set forth in *Cunningham v. Browning*, 1 Bland 299, 311–13 and 315–20 (Md. 1827).

34. Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 196 (Md. 1821); Scharf, *History*, 1:48; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 29–30; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 172–77.

35. Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195 , 196 (Md. 1821);Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 149–50; Helms v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57, 59–60, 78 (Md. 1784).

36. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:18; Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 476 (Md. 1844).

37. 1729 Md. Acts (July) ch. XII [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland* 36:464. The Acts of the Assembly were first compiled by William Kilty in 1799, under the authority of the General Assembly. The *Archives of Maryland*, reprinted by the Maryland Historical Society, were originally printed by the Lord Baltimore Press in Baltimore, Maryland in 1916, and are the only compilation of Acts of the Assembly passed prior to 1692, and are a more easily accessed source for Acts of the Assembly through 1766. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:18–21; Scharf, *History*, 1:51–52; Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1912), 1:12–15.

38. 1683 Md. Laws, "An act for the Advancement of trade." *Archives of Maryland* 7:609. There were two bills regarding the issues of erecting towns (the Bill for Towns) and the advancement of trade (the Bill for the Advancement of Trade). The legislative history of the act passed, found in the *Archives of Maryland*, suggests that

the act is a consolidation of the two bills. Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 254–63; Wilhelm, *Local Institutions in Maryland*, pp. 102–6; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:20–21.

39. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:21–33; Scharf, *History*, 1:50–53; Hall, *Baltimore*, 1: 13–14.

40. *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town 1729–1797*, (Baltimore: 1905), pp. 1–9. This work is a printed reproduction of the original handwritten records. Scharf's report that Carroll took up lot No. 42 is inconsistent with these records and almost certainly in error. See Scharf, *History*, 1:51–53.

Book Reviews

Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage. Edited by Jean B. Russo. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1991. Pp. x, 110. Index. $6.95.)

Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage is the published record from a conference of the same title held in November 1989. The conference assembled scholars from various history-related disciplines to probe the questions: "how we know what we know about the past, what we should preserve of the present to enable future generations to learn about us, and how discoveries in the future may change our views of the past" (p. vii). Unlike most conference proceedings, only two papers are presented separately; the editor revised and combined the others into three thematic essays to present "several case studies of the ways in which scholars use evidence" (p. viii). None of the pieces contain notes or bibliographies, either.

The conference focused on how scholars currently use a variety of sources to research and write about the past with the intent of inspiring new methodologies for considering the past and the future. The essays' concentration on "untraditional" approaches to history such as material culture, social history, oral history, living history, and historic archaeology and not the document-driven political/economic history most Marylanders grew up learning, demonstrates the success of the Chesapeake School of "new" social history in enlarging the state's perception of its past.

The lead-off essay in the volume, "Reflections on the Art of History," in which Gregory A. Stiverson ably traces the origins of the state flag in its present form through prints, pictures, ribbons and dresses to postbellum Maryland is the best piece in the book. Even though Stiverson readily admits that his evidence may not be the best kind "for someone who is more comfortable with documentary sources" he makes a compelling case for the ways in which material culture can sometimes answer questions written documents cannot.

The next three essays, "The Carrolls," "Clues to the Past," and "Interpreting the Past," contain solid research by talented scholars in numerous fields and show how they have applied intensive study to different geographical areas, classes of people and periods of time to solve complex historical problems and answer the questions posed in the introduction. While Jean Russo has done a skillful job of weaving these papers into three topical and coherent essays, the content of the individual case studies suffers in their abbreviated state, and especially when compared to Stiverson's piece.

Unlocking the Secrets of Time covers an amazing spectrum of information about Maryland's past and the ways in which it was obtained. This book could have been stronger if the audience for which it was intended (the "we" in the question "how we know what we know about the past") was identified at the beginning and if the

papers had not been condensed into thematic essays. The lack of footnotes and bibliography in this book indicates that it was meant for a "general" or non-academic audience. If the intention was for the trained professionals to explain what they have learned about Maryland's past and how they learned it to interested amateurs then they should have been allowed to do that in the publication as they did at the conference.

JOHANNA MILLER LEWIS
University of Arkansas at Little Rock

The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study. By Graham Hood. (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991. Pp. 343. Notes, appendixes, index. $59.95.)

Thousands of visitors each year now stroll the streets of Williamsburg, Virginia. Because of its restored and reconstructed buildings, they come to picture life in what was once the capital of colonial Virginia. It became the colony's capital after a decision in 1699 to move from Jamestown, and it remained the seat of government until the move to Richmond in 1780. For the first three quarters of the eighteenth century Williamsburg was one of the principal towns of British Colonial North America. Leading men of the Revolutionary War and the years preceding it walked its streets, worked in the Capitol, and socialized in its houses and taverns. Two centuries later today's tourists presumably search for an understanding of life in the colonial capital during its heyday.

The Governor's Palace is the subject of Graham Hood's study. A casual browser might be misled by the principal title of this book into concluding that the volume is another handsome work to grace the coffee table, similar to a National Geographic Society picture book. The subtitle, "A Cultural Study," gives a clearer indication of what awaits the reader. Graham Hood, a curator at Colonial Williamsburg, uses the tenure of Governor Botetourt (October 1768 to October 1770) as the setting for a description of life in the Governor's Palace before the Revolutionary War.

Norbone Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, had been an affluent country gentleman, a Tory member of Parliament and a groom of the bedchamber to King George III before the king awarded him the barony of Botetourt. Thereafter he sat in the House of Lords and served as a lord of the bedchamber at the royal court. He was a fifty-one-year-old bachelor when he arrived in Virginia. As the representative of the king he was at the apex of the social pyramid in the colony, and as a nobleman suited to his role of setting the standards of taste and behavior in an outpost of British culture. He did well in his job. Edmund Randolph (1753–1813) described the popular governor in his *History of Virginia* as "Always accessible on business, adhering without a single deviation to the resolution of sleeping every night in the metropolis, affable to the humblest visitor, in social circles easy himself and contributing to the ease of others, he was sincerely and universally beloved."

Hood bases his study on the extensive inventory of the palace taken immediately after the death of Lord Botetourt. The governor's residence had sixty-one living and work spaces filled with the items needed for operation of his home and office. The inventory lists more than 16,000 objects.

Occupied first in 1715 by Lieutenant Governor Spotswood, the palace became a source of pride in Virginia and was arguably one of the most impressive buildings in North America. The palace we see today is a reconstruction based on an original elevation, Jefferson's sketch of the first floor, and the 1770 inventory. The original structure burned in 1781.

Using the inventory and other sources, Hood presents an engaging picture of the culture of eighteenth-century Virginia, an extension of that of England. The use of each room is described in the context of Botetourt's life in the palace. Hood bases his chapters on ceremony, public life and private life, discussing under those headings the various rooms of the palace. In his words, "An exceptional product of the cultural interaction of governor and gentlemen at the beginning of a period of real growth and maturity in colonial society, the Governor's Palace established an architectural precedent and provided a cultural tone for Virginia's mansion builders for the rest of the century."

The work is richly and appropriately illustrated with photographs of the existing interior of the palace and its furnishings. It includes as well photographs of other houses, paintings, and furniture to explain and enrich the text. Appendices include not only the Botetourt inventory but those of Fauquier and Dunmore of Virginia, and Governors Eden, Tryon, and Campbell of Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina respectively.

Students, scholars and casual readers of history will find this book rewarding reading. Its wealth of information on the cultural history of eighteenth-century Virginia revealed in the cameo of the Governor's palace is presented most attractively. It is properly documented and written with considerable skill. Handsome in its physical presentation and substantial and sound in the development of its theses, The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg is an excellent scholarly work.

JACK STENGER
Chestertown

The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of American Liberties. Patrick T. Conley and John P. Kaminski, eds. (Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1992. Pp. xxii, 542. Index. $29.95.)

Designed as a sequel to the editors' earlier work, *The Constitution and the States: The Role of the Original Thirteen in the Framing and the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1988), this volume is an invaluable survey of the development of fundamental liberties in America up to 1791. The heart of the volume consists of a series of essays on the evolution of these liberties in the first fourteen colonies and states (including Vermont), prefaced by three more general

discussions of the English libertarian heritage and the politics of adding the Bill of Rights to the 1787 Federal Constitution.

Considered collectively, the essays reveal that the struggle for basic liberties took a great variety of forms and followed no clearly consistent patterns throughout the colonial period. Rights that were contested for in one colony were often ignored, comparatively speaking, in others. Religious liberty and the separation of church and state were important in New England but much less so in New York or Pennsylvania where personal rights and freedom of expression were more salient issues. The inhabitants of Delaware displayed a particular interest in the right to keep and bear arms while Virginians, over time, managed to assert a broad range of individual freedoms.

The editors suggest that the colonial urge to codify rights probably arose from the absence of an authoritative written commentary on the common law and a well-established legal profession. In this context a compilation of rights was perhaps the easiest way to make knowledge of them more accessible in the struggles the colonists waged against arbitrary acts by executives, legislatures, and courts. The urge to codify, of course, reached its climax in the years between 1776 and 1791, though even in this revolutionary period it seems that Americans were still more concerned to consolidate ancient traditions of liberty than they were purposefully trying to create new rights for a new society and new political order.

Not surprisingly, most of the authors in the essays on the individual colonies and states believe that the particular struggles they narrate had their influence on the framing of the 1791 federal Bill of Rights. In a general sense this is undeniably true, but it has the effect of leaving the reader with no very clear ideas about the question of specific influences on the contents of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. As is well known, the members of the Federal Convention, and James Madison in particular, did not perceive the need for a federal bill of rights, and the essay by Kenneth Bowling ably discusses Madison's tactics in advocating amendments to the Constitution in order to thwart the efforts of the Anti-Federalists to undo the reforms that the Federal Convention had achieved. Again, true enough, but leaving that aside, it is still not entirely clear what considerations, outside of the Virginia context, influenced Madison's decisions as to which rights best could be protected. Possibly, the editors might have commissioned an additional essay that drew the strands of this problem together more explicitly.

With all its enormous wealth of information, the real strength of this volume is as a reference work. The colonial and early state stories are all clearly told, though, unfortunately, not footnoted. But the bibliographical essays are splendid, with exhaustive listings of legal and historical studies for each of the first ten amendments to the Constitution as well as for the general background. The volume is, therefore, essential for all students of the Bill of Rights.

J. C. A. STAGG
Papers of James Madison
University of Virginia

Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim. By Alf J. Mapp, Jr. (Lanham, Md. and London: Madison Books, 1991. Pp. xvi, 445. Notes, selected critical bibliography, index. $24.95)

Most biographers face a perilous problem: how to express the enthusiasm that prompted their work without sacrificing the objectivity necessary to define accurately their subjects. Alf Mapp, Jr., obviously tried to examine and set forth the grand intellect that was Jefferson without covering up his warts. Mapp was reasonable and honest in his effort and has produced an insightful study of the last quarter century of Jefferson's life. But the veneration shows through.

Mapp seems to assume that the reader is familiar with his first book on Jefferson, and he therefore launches into the travails of politics and presidency without giving us until the fourth chapter even a glimpse of the man, his family or his personality. The issues of Jefferson's presidency, however, are drawn clearly, and emphasis is placed on the struggles between Jefferson and his Federalist opposition with its many influential leaders.

Jefferson was fifty-seven years old when he walked to his own inaugural in 1801. Problems loomed with France, England and Spain; Jefferson faced the danger of armed conflict while solving the boundary and dominion problems in Florida, Louisiana and western territories not yet incorporated in the union. The ambition of Napoleon and the prospect of a Franco-Spanish treaty threatening the mouth of the Mississippi taxed the experience and cunning of Jefferson and his secretary of state, James Madison.

Domestic political battles were time consuming. Federalists under President Adams had enacted the Judiciary Act to expand the court system and save the members of the Supreme Court from riding all over the country to resolve disputes. Jefferson saw the wisdom of the new law but opposed Adams's "midnight appointment" of Federalists to fill the new middle-level judicial posts. The new president backed Madison's failure to deliver the appointments that rested on his desk when he took office. Thus was born the case of Marbury v. Madison pitting the new president against his Federalist cousin, the new chief justice, John Marshall. Mapp touches on the drama of the case, but students of jurisprudence and constitutional theory may criticize the mere two pages he devotes to Marshall's handling and the surprising outcome of the case. Indeed, Mapp is reluctant to concede that Jefferson and Madison, whose liberal roles he admires, were outflanked and bested politically. Later, in discussing the attempted impeachment of Maryland's Samuel Chase, Mapp acknowledges the president's defeat.

A continuing puzzle and source of criticism of Jefferson, then and since, was his apparent neglect of the country's defenses—notwithstanding Britain's impressment of American seamen, Napoleon's hopes of a French colony in America, and tensions over Spanish lands on the southern border. Mapp describes the problems before, during and after 1806: those with Gen. Francisco Miranda which almost caused a war with Spain; the betrayal by Gen. James Wilkinson, Jefferson's

commanding general, who was on Spain's payroll; and the saga of Vice President Aaron Burr.

Early in 1803, with the help of James Monroe and Robert Livingston and taking advantage of Napoleon's need for funds to carry out his war against Britain, Jefferson arranged the surprising purchase not only of New Orleans but the entire Louisiana Territory—thus doubling the size of the United States in one breathtaking move. Even before the Louisiana treaty was approved by the Senate, the president organized what was to be one of the most important adventures in American history, the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific. While Jefferson had spent a great amount of time in his earlier years as minister to France and in other European travels, he had never ventured farther west than the edge of Virginia. Yet his certainty that the future of the country lay in the west encouraged his Louisiana caper followed by the prescience of the Lewis and Clark explorations.

When Mapp reaches the close of Jefferson's two terms as president, he takes the "measure of a president" in a welcome and helpful chapter. Here Mapp sums up Jefferson's contributions to the growth of the nation, venturing a number of revealing and thoughtful reflections. For this reviewer, this was the high point of the book, for it emphasized the skillful analytical abilities of the author as a writer of history and humanist.

The rest of the volume examines Jefferson's consuming task in establishing the University of Virginia and the poignant personal and financial struggles faced by this fascinating genius, often considered to be the most erudite and influential statesman in our history.

ROBERT L. WEINBERG
Baltimore

States Rights Gist: A South Carolina General of the Civil War. By Walter Brian Cisco. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Company, 1991. Pp. 198. Appendix, notes, bibliography and index. $27.95.)

The most interesting part of this book is the amazement it produces that loving parents could saddle a child with such a name. Even though his father (Nathaniel Gist) was a loyal protagonist of Calhoun, States Rights was a well educated young man. He attended Harvard Law School for one year, until done in by the northern winter. Two hundred fifty-seven Harvard men served in the Confederate Army. So much for the influence of higher education.

States Rights returned to South Carolina and entered the practice of law. He joined the militia, and immediately was made a captain. His rise in the military service of South Carolina was rapid, for in a short time he is a colonel, and then quickly a general. Whether his cousin, Governor Gist, or his uncle, Congressman Gist had any influence in this, we do not know.

Before the Ordinance of Secession, States Rights was the personal messenger of the governor of South Carolina to other Southern states. At the outbreak of hostilities, he was granted (after some political maneuvering) the rank of colonel

and promoted to brigadier general during the defense of Charleston. He served with distinction until his death at the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee in 1864.

In addition to being a life of Gist, the book reviews information about the Army of Tennessee, and the siege of Charleston that many Civil War buffs may have forgotten. Often overlooked is that early in the war Robert E. Lee was Confederate commander for the South Carolina-to-East-Florida area. Despite shortages of men,material and political support, he thwarted a superior Union force that had complete command of the sea. Had Union forces pressed their advantage, they might have cut all direct communication between this area and North Carolina and Virginia.

Cisco's accounts of generals Bragg, Hood, and Pemberton excites pity for the men who served under them. Poor Bragg at Chickamauga! Old and sick, he was at the end of his career and burdened with incompetent subordinates. Here was one of the few times the South had numerical superiority, and victory slipped away. Bad staff work, bad communications, and Southern losses of almost 21,000 to 16,000 Union remind the reader of the Somme in World War I. Hood should have been court martialed for the Battle of Atlanta (Southern losses totaled 8.000 compared to the Union 3,700), but he should have been shot at sunrise for the debacle at Franklin. He deliberately threw his men away.

Cisco has researched his subject thoroughly. The book is well indexed and annotated. We are introduced to Confederate commanders whom we usually only know as names. Sixty thousand South Carolinians served in the Confederate Army. How many came home? A very readable book.

ARTHUR GUTMAN
Baltimore

Ambrose Bierce Is Missing: And Other Historical Mysteries. By Joe Nickell (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1991. Pp. 200. $22.)

Answers are never final if one asks questions of interpretation, of meaning, of "why?" and "so what?" Beneath such eternally debatable issues, the exercise ground of human curiosity and questingness, lie matters of fact about which somewhat securer answers can be given sometimes. It is such questions of fact, which Joe Nickell argues involve "investigation" rather than "research," that are the subjects of this book. The topics Nickell handles are miscellaneous: Did the shroud of Turin once drape the body of Christ? Is Demjanjuk really "Ivan the Terrible"? How and where did Ambrose Bierce die? Did Hawthorne model one of his characters on a specific stage magician? Did Daniel Boone spend a lot of time misspelling his name on artifacts? Nickell's solutions to these questions are modestly interesting, and some of the foolish answers he rejects allow one to chortle at those who suggest Martian invasion, search for "lost silver mines," or ask scientists to explore the authenticity of church relics and then take away the evidence when they produce the religiously "wrong" conclusions.

Nickell's book is most effective when debunking such fairly self-evident untruths. He brings to the work awareness of many of the scientific analytic and dating techniques useful in classifying old artifacts, some reasonable tests for literary authenticity, and a boyish zest for developing his own projects of proof. Thus when Nickell couldn't find a picture of his great grandfather's "stately home," he had it drawn—"accurately," he assures us—from the recollections of "three elderly women," the way "police artists" make sketches of suspects (p. 153). He also used a "rubbing technique" to simulate the image on the Turin shroud, and spent a rainy week (with the aid of his father, a nephew, and three cousins) making "possibly the world's largest art reproduction," of the huge Peruvian Nazca land-drawings, on a Kentucky landfill (pp. 148, 16).

The quality and interest of Nickell's solutions vary. Perhaps his most valuable conclusion involves the "John Swift journal" telling of a Kentucky silver mine; here Nickell points out the work's Freemasonry imagery on his way to arguing that Kentucky pioneer John Filson probably concocted the legend. Perhaps least effective is Nickell's one venture into Marylandia where he contends that Ebenezer Cooke's *Sotweed Redivivus* is not the sequel to but the missing "second edition" of Cooke's famous satire *The Sot-Weed Factor*. Here a dozen similar lines or couplets in the two long poems somehow prove essential identity despite different stories, incidents, and attitudes.

Nickell's approach has elements of genial naivete. People with whom he disagrees he charges "start with the desired answer and work backward to the evidence," whereas he and those who support his conclusions let evidence "lead them to a conclusion" (p. 148). Certainly long before he writes Nickell (like everyone else) has a conclusion in mind to which he fits appropriate data. Nickell also often implies certainty of conclusion in cases of substantial ambiguity. Nickell prefers Walter Neale's story of the Bierce disappearance—that the author didn't go to Mexico, but instead to the Grand Canyon to kill himself—but, in contrast to his claims, the "evidence suggests" nothing about what happened (p. 33). If the stories Bierce told of planning to go southward might have been a hoax, so the fragments of data Neale and Nickell work into their melodramatic tale might equally have been Biercian put-ons. Repeatedly Nickell overstates or invents conclusions that fit his case: Bierce left, we are told, "no doubt dropping his German revolver into his pocket," while Hawthorne "must surely have known" that the term "phantasmagoria" derived from an obscure London magic lantern show of 1802. Even when his argument is generally convincing, Nickell indulges in lawyer-like sophistry. When reluctantly admitting "no direct proof" for the improbable idea that the Mason's "adopted for actual use" the Swift journal, Nickell quickly explains, "Freemasonry, after all, is a 'society with secrets'" (p. 68).

This book creates some awareness of basic problems in knowing, but it illustrates these not only with other's mistakes, but some of Nickell's own. In "unmasking a Nazi Monster" Nickell derides the intellectual honesty of those who questioned the evidence against Ivan Demjanjuk while arguing his techniques, applied "without preconception," helped prove the identity of this "mechanic of death" (p. 52). The

way new data has reversed the odds on Demjanjuk's guilt belies Nickell's faith that his techniques allow "the development of proof" to solve "the original problem" (p. 3). In fact as in theory, the book illustrates a sadder maxim: "Judge not with too much certainty, lest ye be judged certainly wrong."

DAVID GRIMSTED
University of Maryland, College Park

Books Received

Thanks are due Johns Hopkins University Press for a fresh edition of Robert Keith's interesting picture book about what the blurb calls "a wonderful old American seaport," *Baltimore Harbor: A Picture History*. New photographs bring its history into the 1980s. The text is also updated for this fifth printing and second revision. The book originated in a program sponsored by the Chesapeake Bay Foundation for young people. Their classroom was the harbor studied from a boat.

The book's dedication gives readers notice of what kind of voyage they are making: "To Dad, who taught us to prowl the waterfront and enjoy the ships." In that tribute the author reveals purpose and tone. He invites us on an informative, amiable cruise. The informative part of this picture history seems well suited to a general public. With black and white pictures as centerpiece, Keith's captions allow busy people to pick up essentials of a long, distinguished record. With them, Keith fulfills his thesis that seeing Baltimore from the perspective of the water is educational.

But the word "educational" should not discourage purchasers. Keith's amiable tone averts heaviness. As skipper on a voyage around the harbor, he brings in historical facts gathered from earlier writers. To these he adds his own recollections and opinions—and enthusiasm. Readers today can easily tell how successfully Keith opened the eyes of students (and teachers) in the early 1980s. Then his book undergirded trips aboard the skipjack *Minnie V*. Now this edition retains the vigor of a lively classroom. The book is not a coffee table paperweight, nor a dry, academic treatise.

Johns Hopkins $16.95

Richard G. Slattery and Douglas R. Woodward's *The Montgomery Focus: A Late Woodland Potomac River Culture* assembles field reports and photographs. Of interest to students of native American culture in the Potomac Valley.

Archeological Society of Maryland, $18

Paul H. Smith, Garard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart have completed work on volume 19 of the *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, covering 1 August 1782 to 11 March 1783. Among other subjects, the letters discuss Robert Morris's funding plan, Kentucky statehood, the large states' cession of western lands, treaties with friendly foreign nations, and of course the intractable problem of Continental finances.

Library of Congress, $35

"Nothing shows more clearly that political leaders intended the debates of the House of Representatives to be open to the public than the inclusion of a public gallery in the renovation of New York's City Hall as Federal Hall," write the editors

of the *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress* series. Ninety feet long and two and one-half stories high, the gallery projected fifteen feet into the House chamber and was known as "the palladium of liberty." The public proved so avid in its attendance that visitors at times became a nuisance, cracking and chewing nuts during speeches and then, as some listeners left and others entered, crunching underfoot the shells that littered the gallery floor. Congressmen also complained of inaccuracies in newspaper accounts of their speeches and for a time banished reporters from the gallery. Journalists soon resumed their seats, however, speakers began supplying the press with copies of important addresses, and the quality of newspaper reports apparently improved. Volumes 12 and 13 of this highly acclaimed documentary edition cover Congress's second session, from January to August 1790. In this critical period, among other important issues, Congress debated Hamilton's report on the public credit, federal assumption of state Revolutionary War debts, and antislavery petitions from Pennsylvania Quakers. The editors once more have assembled the most complete and reliable text of the debates by examining a variety of sources: stenographer Thomas Lloyd's shorthand notes, the official *Congressional Register*, and various newspaper accounts.

Johns Hopkins, $49.95 each

John M. Levinson and Somers G. Headley have lovingly produced a 140-page essay-with color-photos entitled *Shorebirds: The Birds, the Hunters, the Decoys*. Robert Verity Clem's paintings offer brightly colored images of the birds that live along the eastern seaboard of the United States. A section on how hunters stalk their prey will interest students of Chesapeake Bay outdoor life. Chapters on decoys cover the craft from New England to North Carolina. Great gift book for hunters and naturalists alike.

Tidewater, $49.95

"Doctors, who they were when they used to be!" begins Margaret K. Fresco's *Doctors of St. Mary's County, 1634–1900*. Fresco offers biographical sketches of dozens of physicians of the oldest Maryland county and supplies illustrations of fifteen. Marylanders with roots in St. Mary's and students of early Maryland medicine will want a copy.

Privately published, $35

In Praise of Common Things: Lizette Woodworth Reese Revisited, the work of Robert J. Jones, retired radio and television personality, collects Reese's poetry into one volume with a friendly introduction. Reese, whom H. L. Mencken greatly admired, does not attract much notice today but deserves to be remembered and read, the editor argues. School libraries lacking Reese materials will welcome this book, as will Reese's many admirers in her native Maryland.

Greenwood, $42.95

Dr. J. Roy Guyther of Mechanicsville, Maryland, has published an account of *Charlotte Hall School, 1774–1976*, a small book exploring the background of the old St. Mary's County institution. First, provincials had plans for an infirmary near the cool springs that emerge at the site, then the assembly chartered a school at the springs, under the auspices of the Anglican church. Guyther writes of curriculum, faculty, student life, and the exciting events that mark the school's long record; appendices include a list of alumni, not all graduates, which omits dates of attendance. Graduates of Charlotte Hall should have this volume in their libraries.

Privately published, $12

Gary W. Gallagher, who has collected essays on the Battle of Antietam and studied the Civil War in the Shenandoah Valley, has written a helpful introduction to a two-volume, paperback facsimile reprint of Jennings Cropper Wise's classic *The Long Arm of Lee; or The History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia*, first published in 1915. These books belong to a series that makes old-favorite histories of the Civil War available to nearly everyone.

Nebraska, $14.95, $15.95

Letters to the Editor

On 11 September 1992 Willie Lee Rose, professor of American history, retired from Johns Hopkins University, where she has taught for two decades. Distinguished historian of the American South, Willie Lee Rose is well known among all historians. I met her in the fall of 1955, when we were introduced by Lilly Lavarello, the departmental secretary in Gilman 318, the old departmental office. But I did not really come to know Willie for another decade when we both came to Johns Hopkins as faculty. Our friendship really began on Friday afternoons. I walked home via Northfield Place where Willie and Bill Rose lived. There is a splendid line of Sycamore trees as you climb the hill to the house. Invariably, I found Bill seated on the front steps with Rufus wagging his tail. Bill summoned me in; Willie descended from her study; and the ice soon rattled in the shaker. It was Dry Martini time. How vivid are those afternoons in the sunroom—the scrape of the iron chairs on the red brick floor, a map of the United States that might have decorated a Union general's headquarters, and the incongruous melody of Bostonian and Virginia accents! Conversation touched history, people, and above all, politics. We were New Deal Democrats through and through and Bill was especially vitriolic or "principled" depending on your point of view. After an hour or more, I phoned Elborg and the four of us had dinner together.

In retrospect these were halcyon years for all four of us—the 1970s, a vast improvement over the graduate grind of the 50s. A high point in our friendship was a trip to Hilton Head in the Sea Islands between Charleston and Savannah. Willie and Bill had found a house on the Ocean with an elegant line of tall palms stretching along the sand beach as far as the eye could see. Bill drove golf balls on the beach and Rufus scampered after them. On special occasions like this Willie was cuisinière, and a splendid cook she was. The meticulous care, creativity, and elegance of Willie's prose was present in her cuisine as in everything she did.

But the week at Hilton Head was not one long beach party. It was primarily a tour of the region where Willie had researched her book *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*. The placenames in her book gained visual immediacy—Port Royal, Saint Helena, Coffin's Point, the Brick Church, the school house, the remains of the Tombee Plantations. At the core of this complex of islands is Beaufort. Approaching by the narrow bridge from Saint Helena's, Willie drew our attention to the rows of stately mansions, framed in Spanish moss and bougainvillea, equal in elegance to those of Charleston and even Natchez. Willie signalled the mansion at the end of the bridge; "That is where the commander of the Union army was housed." There was nothing tragic in the tone of her voice, a trait so common to Southern white tour guides. On the contrary, the phrase carried the message of "a job to be done." In the end, for all their faults, Willie was on the side of those evangelical Bostonians—Quakers, Unitarians, Gideonites—teachers like Harriett Murray dedi-

cated to educating the new freedmen, freedwomen, and especially the African-American children.

Willie Rose has a wry humor which, along with her sense of elegance and defense of the proprieties, has carried her through stormy times. On one occasion when she was invited to Yale University, she was to have lunch at an all-male Yale club. After much embarrassing delay when it was discovered that Professor Rose was a woman, Willie observed—no doubt with a pronounced Virginia accent—"Why, in Virginia we settled this business long ago." I recall another episode when Willie had written a very careful and diplomatic review of Alex Haley's *Roots*. She praised *Roots* as an excellent historical novel, a tour de force in that genre. No professional historian could miss her point. After reading it, Haley telephoned and heaped vociferous appreciation on Willie's words. Later Willie mused: "This is what is known as a smoothering embrace—a clever man this Haley." A final example of Willie's esprit. Eugene Genovese, given at times to lavish locker-room language, was not quite sure how to deal with what appeared to him as a Southern Lady who wrote with class. He was put at ease by Willie's cryptic remark: "Don't you worry Gene, I can hack it."

The late 70s and early 80s dealt Willie two heavy blows—a stroke after her return from Oxford in 1978 and Bill's death a few years later. To elegance and wit, add endurance to Willie's stock of qualities.

On Friday afternoons at 5 P.M. Willie still "receives" Elborg and me to her apartment on Greenway. There are only three of us now seated, it seems, among a mass of potted plants. Fitting the times, we have changed to chablis and French cheeses, but Willie's elegance and attention to the proprieties are undiminished. Her acting ability has actually improved. Lacking the proper word at times, Willie moves to pantomime. She is particularly good mimicking generals Sherman or Patton, a Southern Lady, or a "po-white." Willie has a wry smile when she thinks of *Gone with the Wind* and hums the theme song of the film—sometimes gesturing like Scarlett defiantly holding up a fistful of the soil of Tara.

But let there be no mistake about it. Scarlet O'Hara is not Willie's heroine. After Lincoln—and maybe even ahead of him—is Susie King, the defiant black slave who refused to sleep with the man her master had assigned to her for breeding. It is not by chance that the word "endure" appears often in Willie's work.

Join me in saluting Willie Lee Rose—scholar, colleague, friend.

Robert Forster
Baltimore

About Captain Smith's cownose ray in the most recent issue of *MdHM*: I caught one with a thirty-nine inch wingspread last August, and my uncle, Don Carpenter (retired Lieut. Col. U.S.M.C.) made me famous for fifteen minutes (xerox enclosed). Prof. Klink implies that ray doesn't taste good ("As for its edibility, Smith must have enjoyed the revenge of eating it rather more than its taste"—p. 295). Unk tells me that when some people buy sea scallops in a fish market, what they

really get is ray meat, taken off its wings with a cookie cutter. And while crossing the Atlantic on the *Ile de France* in the late 50s, I chose *aile de raie* from the menu, served with a cream sauce and delicious.

Wallace Shugg
Catonsville

Notices

Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

Each year the Maryland Historical Society awards a prize of $1,000 to the author or editor of the published work that it deems to be the most distinguished to have appeared in the preceding two years. Publishers nominate titles for the prize and are asked to submit four copies of each entry. Deadline for the 1993 award is 1 March.

Maritime History Contest

The Maritime Committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Maryland Educational Fund are pleased to announce the fourth annual Maryland Maritime History Essay Contest, the purpose of which is to stimulate research in Maryland maritime history. Subjects that prospective authors might consider include all aspects of Maryland seafaring: ships, sailing vessels, steamboats, small craft, and their equipment, cargoes, passengers carried on Maryland vessels, naval officers and crew, maritime shipping, transportation, ports and economics, naval activities and maritime law. Papers should rely on primary source materials, not exceed 6,000 words in length and follow the contributer's guidelines listed in the spring 1989 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The deadline for submission will be 29 May 1993 with the winners announced in the fall of 1993. Cash awards will be given. Participants must submit four copies of their paper to the Maritime Essay Contest, the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. For further information, call Byrne Waterman or Cathy Rogers at the Historical Society, (410)685-3750.

Southern Maryland Studies Center Seeks Documents

The Southern Maryland Studies Center is seeking to expand its collection of nineteenth century manuscripts particularly relating to the Mitchell/Jenifer family. If you have information about Mitchell family papers from Charles County, please call Sally Barley at (301)934-2251 or 870-3008, ext. 610.

Virginia Historical Society Fellowship Program

The Virginia Historical Society's Fellowship Program provides short-term financial assistance to selected scholars. Awards granted under this program are the Andrew W. Mellon Research Fellowships, the Betty Sams Christian Fellowships in business history, and the Sydney and Frances Lewis Fellowships in women's studies. All 1993 grants will be awarded to scholars who are not residents of central Virginia.

For further information, contact Nelson D. Lankford, chairman, research fellowship committee, Virginia Historical Society, at (804)358-4901.

"A Republic for the Ages" Symposium

The United States Capitol Historical Society, in cooperation with the National Gallery of Art and the Architect of the Capitol, will sponsor a symposium entitled "A Republic for the Ages" in March of 1993. There will be numerous speakers, and the proceedings will be open to interested persons free of charge. No advance registration is required. For additional information, write Dr. Ronald Hoffman, Institute of Early American History and Culture, P.O. Box 220, Williamsburg, VA 23187.

Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of Maryland's history. What is the location of this graveyard? Please be as specific as possible. Send your answers to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201

The Fall 1992 Picture Puzzle shows Porter Road on the grounds of the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis around 1915. The Chapel, completed by 1908, appears to the right of the image.

Index to Volume 87

A

A. Lohmann Company, 51–54
A. Schumacher and Company, 45, 52
African-Americans, in baseball, 171–85; as viewed by Germans, 51; diet of, as slaves, 4; health of, 274–75; in Baltimore, needs of, 198; religion of, 399–405
Agnew, Spiro T., 194
Aland, Kurt, *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika* Band 1,2, & 3, reviewed, 224–26
Alcoholics Anonymous 377–90
Alcoholics, in Baltimore, 375–92
Alexander, Rev. Adams, 399–400
Alexandria on the Potomac: The Portrait of an Antebellum Community, by Harold W. Hurst, reviewed, 229–30
Allegany County League, 151
Allegany County, Maryland, 1900–39, 147–56
Allen, Raymond, 319–22
Ambrose Bierce Is Missing: And Other Historical Mysteries, by Joe Nickell, reviewed, 472-74
American Baseball Association, 1882, 135–38
American Catholic Preaching and Piety in the Time of John Carroll, ed. by Raymond J. Kupke, reviewed, 230–31
American Medical Association, 278
American Public Health Association, 270
American Temperance Society 377–80
ANDERSON, GEORGE M., "The Rockville Academy: Applications for the Position of Principal in April, 1862," 297–308
Andrew Jackson, A Portrait Study, by James G. Barber, reviewed, 105–6
Anglican church, 399–402
Annapolis, 1, 7, 53, 408–9
Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1–9
Antietam, Battle of, 1862, 309–14
Appalachia, Western Maryland as part of, 147–56
Archer, George, 316–22
Architecture, 316–22, 407–11
Argonaut [submarine], 50
Armstrong, Thom M., *Politics, Diplomacy and Intrigue in the Early Republic: The Cabinet Career of Robert Smith, 1801–1811*, reviewed, 209–10
Arnold, Joseph L., review by, 219–21
Association of Base Ball Clubs of Baltimore, 129
At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest of Racial Control, 1861–1915, by William Cohen, reviewed, 110–11

B

Bacon, Thomas, 401
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 12, 14–16, 28–30, 59–70, 147–48
Baltimore Black Sox, 171–72, 180
The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History, ed. by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman, reviewed, 219–21
Baltimore Central Convention on Prohibition, 383
Baltimore City Health Department, 268–86
Baltimore City Park Board, 182
Baltimore City (Town): architecture in, 316–22; banking in, 10–23; baseball in, 127–46, 171–208; coal oil industry in, 24–41; German U-Boat visits, 42–58; labor unions in, 59–71; land ownership in (17th and 18th centuries), 452–61; public health in, 267–93; tempernace in, 376–91
Baltimore Colts, 187–88, 193
Baltimore Convention, 1855, 59–70
Baltimore Copper Company, 15–16
Baltimore County—Land Transactions, 17th century, 454
Baltimore Dry Dock, 43
Baltimore Fire, 1904, 316
Baltimore Grays, 176
Baltimore Orioles, 1954-, 187–99
Baltimore Orioles, 1890s, 137–43
"BALTIMORE RISES FROM THE ASHES: GEORGE ARCHER AND HIS STEP-GABLE SCHLOSS BUILDING," by Irma Walker, 316–22
Baltimore Temperance Society, 376–91
Baltimore United Oil Company, 24, 31–33
Baltimore Washingtonians 375–92
BANDEL, BETTY, "Provisions for the Federal Hill Feast," 414
Bank of the United States, 11
Banking, 10–22, 429–34
Barber, James G., *Andrew Jackson, A Portrait Study*, reviewed, 105–6
Barber, James G., *Old Hickory: A Life Sketch of Andrew Jackson*, reviewed, 105–6
Barnes, Robert, review by, 351–52
Baseball, 127–208; African-Americans in, 171–85, 189–90; amateur, 131, 156, 201–8; during the Civil War, 129; during World War II, 165; economics of, 132–35, 150, 158, 162, 171, 187–99; immigrants in, 162–63;in Western Maryland, 147–57; on the Eastern Shore, 158–70; rule changes of, 131; spectators of, 131–32, 143, 165, 189; uniforms and equipment, 131

Beck, Brandon H., review by, 356–57
Beck, Lewis A., review by, 218–19
Beirne, D. Randall, review by, 360
Belt Family, 3–4
Bethlehem Steel, 43
Bibliography of Maryland History, 1991, 323–44
The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of American Liberties, by Patrick T. Conley and John P. Kaminski, reviewed, 468–69
Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore, 1869, 28, 129
Black Yankees, 175–77
Bliss, Robert M., *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, reviewed, 101–2
Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North, by Thomas P. Slaughter, reviewed, 211–13
Boninger Brothers, 12
"BOOM AND BUST: THE ELITE GIANTS AND BLACK BASEBALL IN BALTIMORE, 1936–1951, by Robert V. Leffler, Jr., 171–86
Boston Beaneaters, 139–42
Bowling, Kenneth R., review by, 103–04
Brady, J. W. S., 28–36
Brandenberg, 45
BREADY, JAMES H., "Play Ball: The Legacy of Nineteenth-Century Baltimore Baseball," 126–45
Bremen [German submarine], 43–55
Breslaw, Elaine G., review by, 347–49
Brewer, John, IV, 6
Breweries, Baltimore, 133
Bridenbaugh, Carl, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, reviewed, 347–49
Bridges, Hal, *Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill*, reviewed, 358
Brooklyn Dodgers, 166–67, 177
Brooklyn Excelsiors, 128–29
Brooks, Neal A., review by, 215–16
Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, 138
Brown, Alexander, 10–11
Brown, J. S., 381
Brown, Shipley & Company, 13–20
Browne, Gary L., review by, 209–10; ment. 376
Browns and McKim & Company, 12
Bugle Field, 17–81
Business communications, 20–22

C

Calderhead, William, review by, 228–29
Callcott, Margaret Law, ed. and trans., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821*, reviewed, 349–51
Calvert, Cecilius, 453
Calvert, Charles, 456–58
Calvert, George, 453
Cambridge Cardinals, 166–69
Cambridge, Maryland, baseball in, 163–69
Camden Consolidated Oil Co., 29–30
Camden, N. J., 24–36
Camden, Johnson Newlon, of Parkersburg, West Virginia, 28–29
Campanella, Roy, 176–77
Canada, baseball in, 177–79
Canneries, 430–31
Canton Oil Works of J. C. Merritt & Isaac Jones, 29
"CAPT. JOHN SMITH'S 'STING RAY' AND THE COWNOSE RAY," by William R. Klink, 294–96
Carr, Lois Green, Menard, Russell R. and Walsh, Lorena S., *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland*, reviewed, 93
Carroll, Charles, of Annapolis, 458–61
Carroll, Charles, the Settler, 458
Cartwright, Mrs. Martha A. Maddox, 415–19
Cartwright, William Joshua, 415–19
Caywood, Capt. (CSA), 415–19
Censer, Jane Turner, review by, 213–15
Centreville Orioles, 167–69
Centreville, Maryland, 164–67
Chamber of Commerce, 433
Charles County, Maryland, 2
Charles I, of England, 2
Charles, Jeffrey, review by, 239–40
Charleston Senators, 151
Charlotte Hall, Maryland, 415
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, 149
Chesapeake Bay, 42, 294–96
Chesebrough, David B., ed., *"God Ordained This War": Sermons on the Sectional Conflict, 1830–1865*, reviewed, 234–35
Chicago American Giants, 176
Cisco, Walter Brian, *States Rights Gist: A South Carolina General of the Civil War*, reviewed, 471–72
City of Richmond [steamboat], 53
City on the Sand: Ocean City, Maryland, and the People Who Built It, by Mary Corddry, reviewed, 215–16
Civil War, 309–14, 415–25; effect on oil refinery, 26; medical care during, 421–22
Civilian Conservation Corps, 152
Clagett & Pratt, 409–10
Clagett and Company Warehouses, 408–11
Clagett's Tavern 407–11

CLAGETT, JOHN H., IV, "Piscataway Tavern: A Maryland Legacy," 407–13
Clagett, Judson Magruder, 409–10
Clagett, Rev. Thomas J., 402
Clagett, Thomas 407–11
CLENDENNING, LYNDA FULLER, "The Early Textile Industry in Maryland, 1810-1850," 251–66
Cleveland Indians, 180
Coal oil, manufacture of, 26
Cohen, William, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861–1915*, reviewed, 110–11
Cole, Thomas, 454–55
"COMEBACKS AND FISTICUFFS: THE MANY LIVES OF THE EASTERN SHORE LEAGUE, 1922–1949," by Barry Sparks, 158–70
Comellas, Jorge, 162–64
Commission merchants, 28
Communications, business, 12–22
Confederate Army—Soldiers, 415–19
The Confederate Regular Army by Richard P. Weinert, Jr., reviewed, 356–57
Conley, Patrick T. and Kaminski, John P., *The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of American Liberties*, reviewed, 468–69
Corddry, Mary, *City on the Sand: Ocean City, Maryland, and the People Who Built It*, reviewed, 215–16
CORDILLOT, MICHEL, "A Forgotten Document about Early Railroad Unionization: The 1855 Baltimore Convention and Its Aftermath," 59–71
"Corn and Canteloupe" [Raphaelle Peale], 1–9
Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, ed. by John C. Van Horne and Lee W. Formwalt, reviewed, 88–92
Cottom, Robert I., Jr., review by, 226–28
Courts, 25, 34, 410, 452
Coventry, Maryland, 399–405
Cownose Ray, 294–96
Creighton, James, 129
Cumberland Colts, 147–51
Cumberland, Maryland, 148–51
Currency, 10–22
CURTIS, PETER H. AND TURKOS, ANNE S. K. comps., "Maryland History Bibliography, 1991: A Selected List," 323–44

D

D' Alessandro, Mayor Thomas, Jr., 192
D'Alessandro, Thomas, III, 193
Danville Railroad, 62
Dement, Capt. (CSA), 417
Dennis, Littleton Upshur, 405
Department Stores, 429–34
Depression, 147–53, 162, 432
"DETHRONING KING ALCOHOL: THE WASHINGTONIANS IN BALTIMORE, 1840–1845," by Jonathan Zimmerman, 375–99
Deutschland [German submarine], 42–57
"DEVICES AND DESIRES: REALIZING WIDER UNDERSTANDING AND ACCESS TO MARYLAND'S RECORDED HERITAGE," comp. by Timothy D. Pyatt, and Dean K. Yates, 436–52
Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika, Band I, 2, & 3 by Kurt Aland, reviewed, 224–26
Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885—1935, by Howard Lawrence Preston, reviewed, 111–12
Disease, 267–86, 375-92
Dorchester County, Maryland, 166
"THE DOWAGER OF 33RD STREET: MEMORIAL STADIUM AND THE POLITICS OF BIG-TIME SPORTS IN MARYLAND, 1954–1991," by James Edward Miller, 187–200
Druid Hill Park, 201–8
Duffy, Maj. George, 418–19
Dunlap, William, "American Vasari," 1–2
Dunn, Jack, III, 167–68, 191–92

E

Eagle Brewery and Malt House, 133–38
"EARLY HISTORY OF AMATEUR BASE BALL IN THE STATE OF MARYLAND," by William Ridgely Griffith, 201–8
"EARLY TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN MARYLAND, 1810–1850," by Lynda Fuller Clendenning, 251–66
East-West All-Star Game, 176–79
Eastern Forwarding Company, 45–56
Eastern Shore League, 164, 167–70
Eastern Shore, Maryland, 2, 158–70, 399–405, 429–34
Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance, by Kenneth Silverman, reviewed, 210–11
Edgewater Giants, 175
Education, private, in Rockville, 19th century, 297–307
Elite Giants, 171–85
Empire Transportation Company, 30–36
Engineers, locomotive, Convention, 59–70
Entering the Auto Age: The Early Automobile in North Carolina, 1900–1930, by Robert E. Ireland, reviewed, 111–12

Episcopal church, 399–402
Espionage, 415–19
Evans, William, 414
"EVERYDAY LIFE AT FORT WASHINGTON, MARYLAND, 1861–1872," by David L. Salay, 420–27
Excelsiors baseball team, 128–29, 203
Exports, 18, 47, 407–8, 429–34

F

Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott, ed. by Robert Garth Scott, reviewed, 235–36
Farmington Wharf, Maryland, 410
Fauquier, Amos, 417–18
FEE, ELIZABETH, "Public Health in Baltimore: Childhood Lead Paint Poisoning, 1930–1970," 267–93
Fee, Elizabeth, et al., eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*, reviewed, 219–21
Female Athletic Association, 135
Flint, Richard, Curator, "Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons: The Evolution of the American Museum," reviewed, 363–65
Fogarty, Gerald P., S.J., review by, 97–99
"For Hell and a Brown Mule": The Biography of Senator Millard E. Tydings, by Caroline H. Keith, reviewed, 112–14
Foreign trade, 10–22
"A FORGOTTEN DOCUMENT ABOUT EARLY RAILROAD UNIONIZATION: THE 1855 BALTIMORE CONVENTION AND ITS AFTERMATH," by Michel Cordillot, 59–71
Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615–1655, by James R. Perry, reviewed, 94–95
Fort Washington, Maryland, 420–25
Frankfort & Lexington Railroad, 61
Fremantle, Arthur J. L., *Three Months in the Southern States, April–June 1863*, reviewed, 358
Frey, Sylvia K., *Waters from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*, reviewed, 228–29
Frostburg, Maryland, 149–56

G

Gallagher, Gary W., ed., *Struggle for the Shenandoah: Essays on the 1864 Valley Campaign*, reviewed, 237–38
Garrett County, Maryland, 152
Garrett, Robert, 28–29
Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744, ed. by Carl Bridenbaugh, reviewed, 347–49
Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789, by Albert H. Tillson, Jr., reviewed, 353–54
Georges Creek, Maryland, 147–154
"GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AT ANTIETAM," by C. Eugene Miller, 309–15
German Ocean Navigation Company, 43, 45
German-Americans—Civil War, 1861–1865, 309–15
Gillespie, C. Richard, *The James Adams Floating Theatre*, reviewed, 221–22
"God Ordained This War": Sermons on the Sectional Conflict, 1830–1865, ed. by David B. Chesebrough, reviewed, 234–35
Goddard, Williams, 414
Gorman, Arthur Pue, 129–30
Gottlieb, Eddie, 171–72, 175, 181
Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study, by Graham Hood, reviewed, 467–68
Graham, William, 10–22
Grant, Ulysses S., *Memoirs and Selected Letters: Personal Memoirs of U.S Grant, Selected Letters 1839–1865*, reviewed, 107–9
Green, Vernon, 172, 179–84
Griffith Stadium, 172–79
GRIFFITH, WILLIAM RIDGELY, "The Early History of Amateur Base Ball in the State of Maryland," 201–8
Grimsted, David, review by, 105–6, 221–22, 472–74
Grove, Robert Moses, 147–56
Gunby Company, 429–34
Gunby, Louis Morris, 429–34
Gutman, Arthur J., reviews by, 235–36, 471–72

H

H. M. Sciple Company of Philadelphia, 432
Hamand, Wendy, *Neither Ballots Nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War*, reviewed, 232–34
Hamill Family, 24–37
Hamilton, Francis, 10
Hanlon, Edward Hugh, 138–42
Harding, Violetta Lee, 3–4
Hart, D. G., review by, 352–53
Hart, Sidney, review by, 363–65
Hawkins Point, 42–48
Hawkins, John H. W., 382–86
Haws, Robert, J., *The South's Role in the Creation of the Bill of Rights*, reviewed, 103–4
Hayward, F. Sydney, marine surveyor, 48–49
Health, public, in Baltimore, 267–86
HELLER, DAVID N., "Mrs. Hunt and Her Coal Oil Refinery in Baltimore," 24–41
Heurich Brewers, 175
Hilken, Henry G., 45–51
Hilken, Paul H. L., 45–51

Hinsch, Frederick, Captain, 45–51
Historical American Buildings Survey 407
Hoffberger, Jerold, 193–96
HOLLOWAK, THOMAS L., "Maryland Maps in the Peabody Collection," 72–87
Holly, David C., *Tidewater by Steamboat: A Saga of the Chesapeake*, reviewed, 218–19
Hood, Graham, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study*, by Graham Hood, reviewed, 467–68
Horne, John C. Van and Formwalt, Lee W., *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, reviewed, 88–92
Hughes, Harry, 196–97
Hunt, Sylvia C., 24–37
Hurst, Harold W., *Alexandria on the Potomac: The Portrait of an Antebellum Community*, reviewed, 229–30
Hyland, Dr. Henry, 403

I

Immigrants, German, 309–14; Irish, 11–12
Imports, 1–2, 43–52
The Impossible Mr. Mencken: A Selection of His Best Newspaper Stories, ed. by Marion Elizabeth Rodgers, reviewed, 100–1
In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia, by Earl Lewis, reviewed, 238–39
Indians, 399–400
Industrialization, 251–64
International League (baseball), 171–82
Ireland, Robert E., *Entering the Auto Age: The Early Automobile in North Carolina, 1900–1930*, reviewed, 111–12

J

J. Parkhurst & Company, 28
Jackson, Howard, 175
Jacobs, Bradford, review by, 100–1
Jacobs, Eli, 199
James I, of England, 453
The James Adams' Floating Theatre, by C. Richard Gillespie, reviewed, 221–22
Johannsen, Robert W., *Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension*, reviewed, 355–56
John H. White Hardware Company, 429–34
Johns Hopkins University, library of, 72
Johnson, Lyndon B., 285–86
Johnston, William Wilson, 403
Jones, David, 454–55
Jordan, David W., review by, 101–2
Journal of the American Temperance Union, 384
Junior Washingtonians, 376

K

Keener, Mr., 382–6
Keith, Caroline H., *"For Hell and a Brown Mule": The Biography of Senator Millard E. Tydings*, reviewed, 112–14
Kelly-Springfield Tire Company, 148–54
Kerosene production, 24–37
Kibler, Tom, 162–63, 167
Kimmel, Ross M., review by, 359–60
KLEIN, MARY O., "'We shall be accountable to God': Some Inquiries into the Position of Blacks in Somerset Parish, Maryland, 1692–1865," 399–406
KLINK, WILLIAM R., "Capt. John Smith's 'Sting Ray' and the Cownose Ray," 294–96
Kohlman, Joe, 162–64
Konig, Paul, 45–56
Krupp family, 43–52
Kuklick, Bruce, *To Everything a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909–1976*, reviewed, 239–40
Kupke, Raymond J., ed., *American Catholic Preaching and Piety in the Time of John Carroll*, reviewed, 230–31

L

"THE L. W. GUNBY COMPANY OF SALISBURY," by Tom McLaughlin, 428–35
Laas, Virginia J., *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*, reviewed, 213–15
Labor conditions, 251–64
Ladies Liberty Society, 378
Ladies Temperance Society, 378
LaGuardia, Fiorello, Mayor, 175
Lake Torpedo Boat Company, 50
Land transactions—Baltimore—17th & 18th centuries, 452–61
Landis, Judge Kenesaw Mountain, 160, 174
Lang, Rev. John, 400
Lannan [police boat], 53
Lead paint poisoning, 1930–1970, 267–86
Lee Family, 1–9
Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill, by Hal Bridges, reviewed, 358
Lee, Benjamin, Dr., 2
Lee, Josiah & Co., 12
Lee, Gen. Robert E., 415–18
Lee, Gov. Thomas Sim, 1781, 408
LEFFLER, ROBERT V., JR., "Boom and Bust: The Elite Giants and Black Baseball in Baltimore, 1936–1951," 171–86
Lefty Grove, 147–56
Legal Treatises, 452
Leggett & Company, 203

Lemay, J. A. Leo, *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*, reviewed, 345–47
Lewis, Earl, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia*, reviewed, 238–39
Lewis, Jan, review by, 349–51
Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension, by Robert W. Johannsen, reviewed, 355–56
LLOYD, PHOEBE, "Raphaelle Peale's Anne-Arundel Still Life: A Local Treasure Lost and Found," 1–9
Locomotive engineers, 59–70
Locust Point, Baltimore, 43–55
Lonaconing, Maryland, 147–56
London, England 399–400, 409–11
Longenecker, Stephen L., review by, 96
Lord Baltimores (also called Canaries) baseball team, 133–44
Lucas, Fred, 165–70
Lucia [freighter], 56
Lusitania, 42

M

Maccubin Family, 5–6
MacGlathery, Martha (Patty), 5
Maddox, Martha A., 415–19
Madison Avenue Grounds, 132–33
Mancall, Peter C., *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna*, reviewed, 222–24
Mandel, Marvin, 194
Manley, Mrs. Effa, 179
Manufacturing of textiles, 251–64
Mapp, Alf J., Jr., *Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim*, reviewed, 470–71
Marina [steamship], 54
Marion Society, 378
Martinsburg, West Virginia, 159–60
Maryland Base Ball Club, 129–30
Maryland Club of Baltimore City, 205–8
Maryland General Assembly, 407
Maryland Historical Society, 452
"MARYLAND HISTORY BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1991: A SELECTED LIST," compiled by Peter H. Curtis and Anne S. K. Turkos, 323–44
"MARYLAND MAPS IN THE PEABODY COLLECTION," compiled by Thomas L. Hollowak, 72–87
Maryland Sports Complex Authority, 194–99
Maryland State Archives, 452; guide to records in, 436–52
Maryland State Base Ball Association, 130
Maryland State House, 6
Maryland State Temperance Society, 376–79
Maryland Temperance Herald, 377–88
Maryland, maps of, 72–87
Maryland—History—17th Century, 452–61; 18th Century, 452–61
Maryland—History—Civil War, 1861–1865, 420–25; 415–19
Maryland—History—Colonization Societies, 405; Eastern shore ministers, 18th century, 399–405
Maryland—Land in, 452–61
Massachusetts Temperance Society, 382
McKeldin, Theodore, 174–76
McLane Report, 1832, 251
MCLAUGHLIN, TOM, "The L. W. Gunby Company of Salisbury," 428–35
Memoirs and Selected Letters: Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, Selected Letters 1839–1865, by Ulysses S. Grant, reviewed, 107–9
Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, by William Tecumseh Sherman, reviewed, 107–9
Memorial Stadium, 180–82, 187–99
"Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons: The Evolution of the American Museum," Richard Flint, curator, reviewed, 363–65
Methodism—18th century, 399
MEYERS, FRANCIS J., "Wild Dreams and Harsh Realities: Lefty Grove and the Life of Organized Baseball in Allegany County, 1900-1939," 146–57
Mid-Atlantic League, 149–51
Middleton, Stephen, review by, 211–13
Midland Indians, 151–56
MILLER, C. EUGENE, "German Immigrants at Antietam," 309–15
Miller, Donald G., *The Scent of Eternity: A Life of Harris Elliot Kirk of Baltimore*, reviewed, 352–53
MILLER, JAMES EDWARD, "The Dowager of 33rd Street: Memorial Stadium and the Politics of Big-Time Sports in Maryland, 1954–1991," 187–200
Mills, textile, in Maryland, 251–64
"Mining the Museum," Fred Wilson, guest curator, reviewed, 361–63
Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821, edited and translated by Margaret Law Calcott, reviewed, 349–51
Mitchell, William K. 376–88
Monumental Oil Works, 33
"MRS. HUNT AND HER COAL OIL REFINERY IN BALTIMORE," by David N. Heller, 24–41
Mt. Vernon Place, 28
Muckraking, 35

N

Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, 61

National Amateur Baseball Federation Tournament, 154–56
National Association of Base Ball Players, 128–34
National Association, 135–43
National Football League, 187–97
National League, 132–42
National Protective Association of the Locomotive Engineers of the United States, 60, 62; board of (1855–56), 60; constitution of, 67–70; convention of (1855–56), 60
S.S. Neckar [ocean liner], 45–51
Negro American Baseball Association, 174
Negro American League, 174–76
Negro International League, 174
Negro National League, 173–84
Negroes, religion of, 399–405
Neither Ballots Nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War, by Wendy Hamand, reviewed, 232–34
Nevins, Alan, 24, 35
New Jersey, 60
New London, Connecticut, 45, 54–56
New York Cubans, 174
New York Giants, 139–41
Newark Eagles, 175
Newman, Paul D., review by, 102–3
Nicholson, Rev. Joseph, 404
Nickell, Joe, *Ambrose Bierce Is Missing: And Other Historical Mysteries*, reviewed, 472–74
North Carolina [cruiser], 52
North German Lloyd Line, 43–48
Northampton, Maryland, 3, 16
Norton, Mary Beth, review by, 94–95
Not in Vain: A Rifleman Remembers World War II, by Leon C. Standifer, reviewed, 360

O

O'Ferrall Family Papers, 414
Oak Hill, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1–4
Oelrichs & Lurman, 12
Oil refineries, 24–37
The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia, by James Titus, reviewed, 226–28
Old Hickory: A Life Sketch of Andrew Jackson, by James G. Barber, reviewed, 105–6
Old Pastime Base Ball Club, 203
Orendorf, Beam & Company, 203
"Original Six," 375–57, 384
Oriole Athletic Club, 181
Oriole Park at Camden Yards, 187–99
Oriole Park, 171–76
Orioles, as All-Stars, 176
Orioles, Centreville, 167–69
Orioles, of Baltimore, 147–48
Oxon Hill Aztecs, 175

P–Q

Panic of 1819, 263–64
Papenfuse, Edward C., review by, 345–47
"PARCELING OUT LAND IN THE VICINITY OF BALTIMORE: 1632-1796," by Garrett Power, 452–65
Parkersburg, West Virginia, 28–29
Pastime Base Ball Club, 129–32
Pastime Club, 203
Patuxent River, 415
Peabody, George, 12, 15–6
Peabody Library of the Johns Hopkins University, maps in, 72–87
Peale family, 1–9
Peale, Raphaelle, 1–9
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1814), 1
Pennsylvania, 26–30, 60, 151, 171
A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence, by John Shy, reviewed, 102–3
Percy, David O., review by, 93
Perdue, Susan Holbrook, review by, 216–18
PERKINS, EDWIN J., "William Graham: Branch Manager and Foreign-Exchange Dealer in Baltimore in the 1850s," 10–23
Perry, James R., *The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615–1655*, reviewed, 94–95
Petroleum, 24–37
Philadelphia, 11–19
Philadelphia Athletics, 130–34; 162–63
Philadelphia Stars, 175
Philadelphia White Stockings, 130
Philomanthanean Society, 4
Piscataway Creek, Maryland 407–11
"PISCATAWAY TAVERN: A MARYLAND LEGACY," by John H. Clagett IV, 407–13
"PLAY BALL! THE LEGACY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BASEBALL," by James H. Bready, 126–45
Poetry, 309–14
POHUSKI, MICHAEL, "A U-Boat in Baltimore's Harbor: The *Deutschland*, 1916–1921," 42–58
Point Lookout, Maryland, 418
Politics, Diplomacy and Intrigue in the Early Republic: The Cabinet Career of Robert Smith, 1801–1811, by Thomas M. Armstrong, reviewed, 209–10
Poor Richard['s Almanac], 7
Port cities, 10–22
Potomac River, 420–24
Potts, Joseph, 30, 34
Poultney & Moale, 27, 30
Powell, Richard D., 172–83
Power, Garrett, review by, 114–16

POWER, GARRETT, "Parceling Out Land in the Vicinity of Baltimore: 1632-1796," 452–65
Pratt, William, 409–10
The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, by Thomas W. Spalding, reviewed, 97–99
Preston, Howard Lawrence, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885–1935*, reviewed, 111–12
Preston, James Harry
Prince George's County, Maryland, 1–3, 407–11, 415
Princess Anne, Maryland, 402–3
Proctor, Fredus, of Shady Side, Maryland, 1
Prohibition, 375–92
Propaganda, World War I, 42
Propietary land grants 452–54
"PROVISIONS FOR THE FEDERAL HILL FEAST," by Betty Bandel, 414
"PUBLIC HEALTH IN BALTIMORE: CHILDHOOD LEAD PAINT POISONING, 1930–1970," by Elizabeth Fee, 267–93
PYATT, TIMOTHY, compiler, "Devices and Desires: Realizing Wider Understanding and Access to Maryland's Recorded Heritage," 436–52
Queen Anne's County, Maryland, 167

R

R. & H. R. Tucker [firm], 12
R. Read's Coal Oil Works, 28
Railroads, 59–70
"RAPHAELLE PEALE'S ANNE-ARUNDEL STILL LIFE: A LOCAL TREASURE LOST AND FOUND," by Phoebe Lloyd, 1–9
Records of Christ Reformed Church also known as the German Reformed Church (a congregation of the United Church of Christ) Middletown, Frederick County, Maryland: 1771–1840, trans. and ed. by Frederick S. Weiser, reviewed, 96
Refineries, Baltimore, Maryland, 24–37
Religion—18th century, 399–405
Religious auxillary groups 377–92
Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, by Robert M. Bliss, reviewed, 101–2
Rideout V, Orlando, review by, 88–92
Ritchie, Gov. Albert C., 149
Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland, by Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, reviewed, 93
Robert Garrett & Sons, 12–15
Robertson, Rev. James, 400–1
Robinson, Jackie, 177–80, 190
Rockefeller, John D., 24–36
"THE ROCKVILLE ACADEMY: APPLICATIONS FOR THE POSITION OF PRINCIPAL IN APRIL, 1862," by George M. Anderson, 297–308
Rodgers, Marion Elizabeth, *The Impossible H. L. Mencken: A Selection of His Best Newspaper Stories*, reviewed, 100–1
Rogish, John, 154–56
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 51, 151, 175
The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization, 1940–1985, by John C. Teaford, reviewed, 114–16
Royal Giants, 174–76
Russo, Jean B., ed., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage*, reviewed, 466–67
Russo, Jean B., review by, 361–63
Ruth, George Herman ("Babe"), 147–49

S

Sache's Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore, 28
Sachse, E., 129
SALAY, DAVID L., "Everyday Life at Fort Washington, Maryland, 1861–1872," 420–27
Salisbury Cardinals, 169
Salisbury Permanent Building and Loan Association, 432
Salisbury White Clouds, 434
Salisbury, Maryland, 163–64, 429–34; during Civil War, 429
The Scent of Eternity: A Life of Harris Elliot Kirk of Baltimore, by Donald G. Miller, reviewed, 352–53
Schaefer, William Donald, 195–99
Scharf, Christopher, review by, 210–11
Scharf, J. Thomas, 452
Schloss, Joseph, & Son, 317–19
Schloss Building, Baltimore, 316–22
Scholnick, Myron I., review by, 113–14
Schriver Brothers, 203
Scott, Robert Garth, ed., *Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott*, reviewed, 235–36
Segregation, 171–85, 189–92
Sephus, Joe, 153–55
Shackelford, George Green, review by, 353–54
Sheriff, Carol, review by, 222–24
Sherman, William Tecumseh, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, reviewed*, 107–9
Shreve, Jack, review by, 232–34
Shy, John, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, reviewed, 102–3
Silverman, Kenneth, *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance*, reviewed, 210–11
Sims, Capt. (CSA), 415–18

Slaughter, Thomas P., *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North*, reviewed, 211–13
Slaves, diet of, 4; education of, 400; as factory laborers, 262–63; religion of, 399–405
Smith, Capt. John, 294–96
Smith, John David, review by, 110–11
Snay, Mitchell, review by, 234–35
Snodgrass, J. E., 384
Snow Hill, Maryland, 399–405
Societies, temperance, 375–92; women in 378–92
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), 399–402
Society of Friends—18th century, 399
Somerset County, Maryland, 399–405
Somerset Parish, 399–405
Somerset: An Architectural History, by Paul Baker Touart, reviewed, 216–18
Sons of Temperance, 388
South River Club, 5–6
The South's Role in the Creation of the Bill of Rights, ed. by Robert J. Haws, reviewed, 103–4
Southern Maryland, 415–19
Spalding, Albert Goodwill, 130, 144
Spalding, Thomas W., review by, 230–31
Spalding, Thomas W., *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989*, reviewed, 97–99
SPARKS, BARRY, "Comebacks and Fisticuffs: The Many Lives of the Eastern Shore League, 1922–1949," 158–70
Spouse abuse, 377
Sprigg, Samuel, 3–6
St. Andrew's Church, Somerset County, Maryland, 402–3
St. Louis Browns, 137–38
Stagg, J. C. A., review by, 468–69
Stakem, Dick, 155–56
Standard Oil Company, 24–36
Standifer, Leon C., *Not in Vain: A Rifleman Remembers World War II*, reviewed, 360
Stanley Steamer, 432
Stanley, Rev. Harvey, 402
States Rights Gist: A South Carolina General of the Civil War, by Walter Brian Cisco, reviewed, 471–72
Steele, Guy W., 48–49
Stenger, Jack, review by, 467–68
Stepney, Maryland, 399–405
Sting Ray, 294–96
"THE STORY OF LEE'S SPURS," 415–19
Struggle for the Shenandoah: Essays on the 1864 Valley Campaign, ed. by Gary W. Gallagher, reviewed, 237–38
Submarines, 1916–1921, 42–57

T

Tarbell, Ida, 24–35
Taverns, 375–76, 407–11
Teaford, Jon C., *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985*, reviewed, 114–16
Temperance movement, 375–92
Tennessee, 62
Textile industry in Maryland, 1810–1850, 251–64
Thomas Clagett & Company, 408–11
Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim, by Alf J. Mapp, Jr., reviewed, 470–71
Thomas, Dr. Joseph, 173–74
Thomas, William and Horatio Clagett & Company, 408–9
Thomsen, Richard P., review by, 229–30
Three Months in the Southern States, April–June 1863, by Arthur J. L. Fremantle, reviewed, 358
Tidewater by Steamboat: A Saga of the Chesapeake, by David C. Holly, reviewed, 218–19
Tillson, Albert H., Jr., *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789*, reviewed, 353–54
Timmins [steam tug], 45–54
Titus, James, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia*, reviewed, 226–28
To Everything a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909–1976, by Bruce Kuklick, reviewed, 239–40
Tobacco Inspection Act of 1747, 407
Todd, James, 456–57
Tovart, Paul Baker, *Somerset: An Architectural History*, reviewed, 216–218
Towers, Frank, review by, 355–56
Trade, 10–22, 408–11
Tuckey, Russell T., Mayor, 176
Turners Station, Baltimore, 173–84

U

U-155, formerly *Deutschland* [submarine], 56–57
U-200 [submarine], 45–46
U-201 [submarine], 45
U-53 [warship], 55
"A U-BOAT IN BALTIMORE'S HARBOR: THE *DEUTSCHLAND*, 1916-1921," by Michael Pohuski, 42–58
U-Boats, 1916–1921, 42–57
Union Army—Soldiers, 415–19
Unionization, in railroads, 59–70
United States Constitution, 282, 414
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 285–86

The United States Infantry: An Illustrated History, 1775–1918, by Gregory J. W. Urwin, reviewed, 359–60
United States Supreme Court, 282
University of Maryland Hospital, Well-Baby Clinic, 279
Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage, ed. by Jean B. Russo, reviewed, 466-67
Upper Marlboro, Maryland, 4–7
Urban blight, in Baltimore, 188–89, 267–86
Urwin, Gregory J. W., *The United States Infantry: An Illustrated History, 1775–1918*, reviewed, 359–60

V

Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, by Peter C. Mancall, reviewed, 222–24
The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore, by Jane Bromley Wilson, reviewed, 351–52
Virginia Capes, 46–52
Virginia, 2, 18, 60, 62, 418
Visiter, 384–88
Von der Horst Family, 133–38

W

WALKER, IRMA, "Baltimore Rises from the Ashes: George Archer and His Step-Gable Schloss Building," 316–22
Wallace, Johnson and Muir of Annapolis, 408–9
Wallenstein, Peter, reviews by, 111–12, 238–39
War of 1812, 420
Ward, David C., review by, 107–9, 237–38, 358
Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee, ed. by Virginia J. Laas, reviewed, 213–15
Washington College, Maryland, 162–68
Washington Monument, Baltimore, 28
Washington Nationals, 130
Washington Olympics, 130–32
Washington Senators, 165
Washington Temperance Society, 375–99; of Baltimore, 375–99
Washington, D.C., 51; baseball in, 156
Washington, George, portrait of, 6
Washingtonians, 375–99
Waters from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age, by Sylvia K. Frey, reviewed, 228–29
Waverly Baseball team, 129
Waverly Club of Baltimore, 205
"'WE SHALL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO GOD': SOME INQUIRIES INTO THE POSITION OF BLACKS IN SOMERSET PARISH, MARYLAND, 1692–1865,'" 399–406
Weinberg, Robert L., review by, 470–71
Weinert, Richard P., Jr., *The Confederate Regular Army*, reviewed, 356–57
Weiser, Frederick S., *Records of Christ Reformed Church also known as the German Reformed Church (a Congregation of the United Church of Christ) Middletown, Frederick County, Maryland: 1771–1840*, reviewed, 96
West Virginia, 151–54
West, W. C., 30–31
Western Maryland, 147–56
Westvaco Paper Company, 148–55
Whig Party—Baltimore, Md., 386–87
Whittington, Right Rev. William R., 404–5
Wickes, Rev. William, 401
Wicomico County, Maryland, 430–34
Wicomico Presbyterian Church, 434
"WILD DREAMS AND HARSH REALITIES: LEFTY GROVE AND THE LIFE OF ORGANIZED BASEBALL IN ALLEGANY COUNTY, 1900–1939," by Francis J. Meyers, 146–57
"WILLIAM GRAHAM: BRANCH MANAGER AND FOREIGN-EXCHANGE DEALER IN BALTIMORE IN THE 1850S," by Edwin J. Perkins, 10–23
Wilson, Fred, guest curator, "Mining the Museum," reviewed, 361–63
Wilson, Jane Bromley, *The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore*, reviewed, 351–52
Wilson, Tom, 172–80
Wilson, Woodrow, 43–55
Winans, Thomas, 17
Windsor Family, 4
WISEMAN, JOHN B., "Introduction," 124–25
Wissahicken [cruiser], 53
Wobeck, Marianne S., review by, 224–26
Women, advocacy of, 378; in American society, 35; in business (19th Century), 24–37
Workers, organization of, 59–70
World War I, 42–57
World War II, baseball during, 165

X-Y-Z

Yankee Stadium, 174–75
Yates, Dean, compiler, "Devices and Desires: Realizing Wider Understanding and Acess to Maryland's Recorded Heritage," 436–52
Young, Eric, 1
ZIMMERMAN, JONATHAN, "Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840-1845," 375–99

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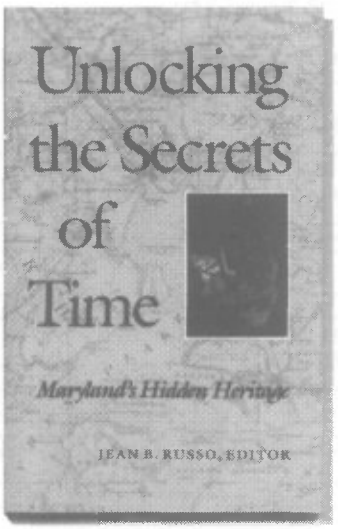

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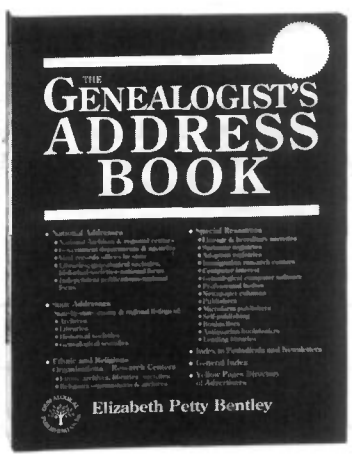

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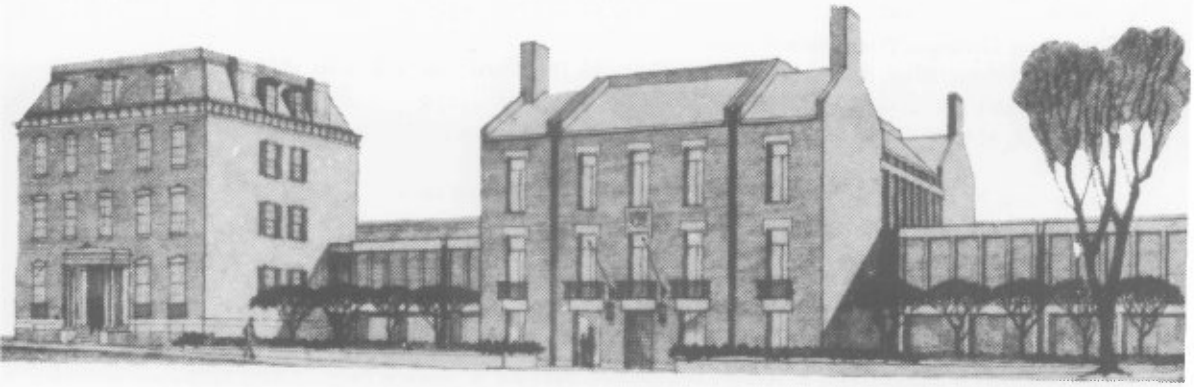

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